

The Wires *en Español* ■ John McGoff's South African Adventures  
Peter Steinfelds Reviews Garry Wills ■ Norman Rockwell's Magazine Myths

# COLUMBIA JOURNALISM REVIEW

NOVEMBER / DECEMBER 1979 • \$2.00  
NATIONAL MEDIA MONITOR • PRESS / RADIO / TV

## THE TIES THAT BLIND



The 25 largest newspaper companies  
have hundreds of director interlocks with  
institutions they cover.

This is good for business. But is it bad for journalism?

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The thought is from Benjamin Disraeli. The interpretation is by Corita Kent of Immaculate Heart College.

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representative of democratic institutions.

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diversity of new ideas, opinions and experiences to  
the people is a prime safeguard of the democratic ideal.

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of thought and freedom of speech are today inseparably  
linked with freedom of broadcasting? And that  
in countries where dissent is not tolerated,  
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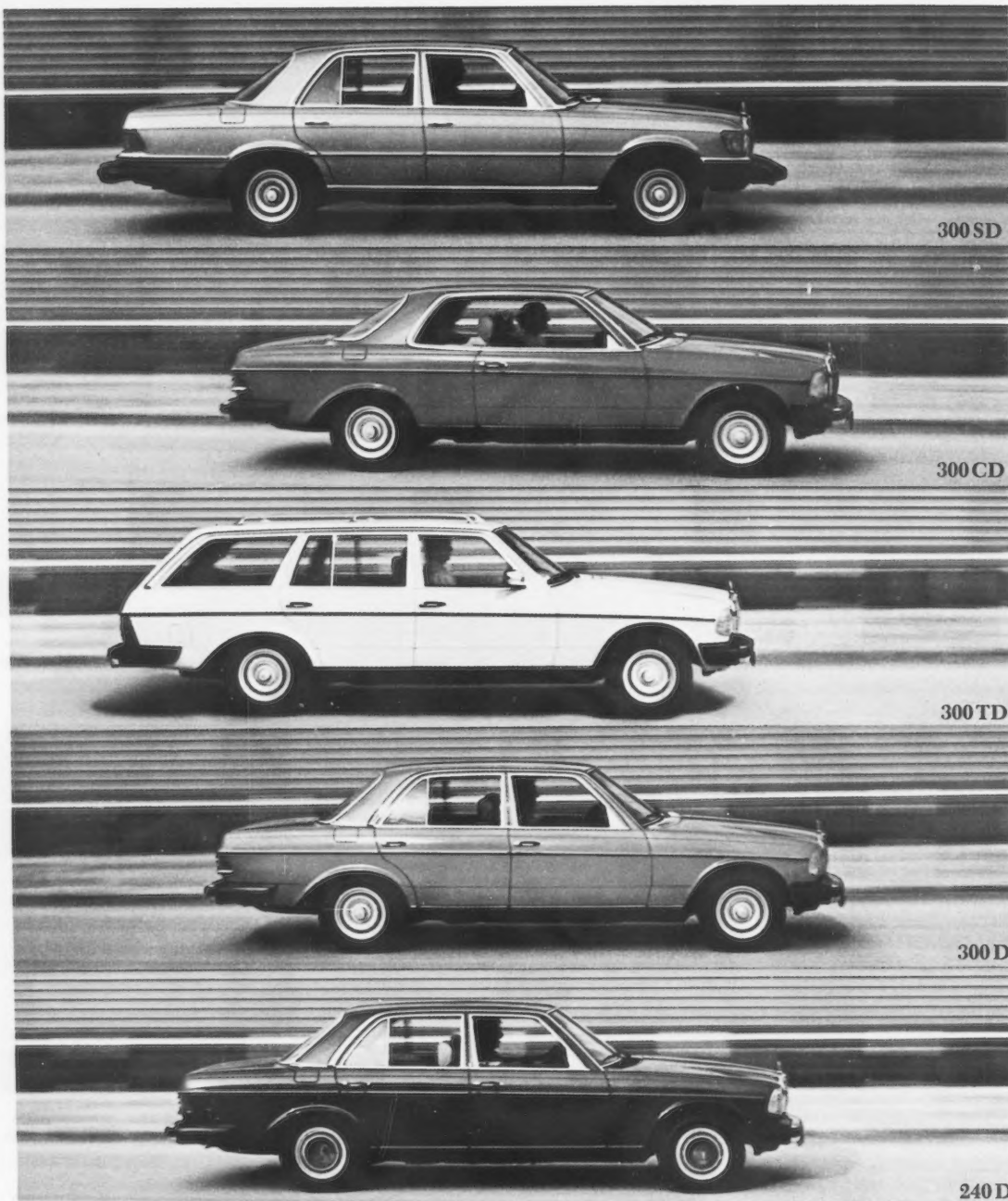
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# CONTENTS

6 To assess the performance of journalism in all its forms, to call attention to its shortcomings and strengths, and to help define — or redefine — standards of honest, responsible service . . . to help stimulate continuing improvement in the profession and to speak out for what is right, fair, and decent

—Excerpt from the *Review's* founding editorial, Autumn 1961

## ARTICLES

- The McGoff grab** *by Karen Rothmyer* 33  
The canny Michigan publisher put together a small empire. Did boosting South Africa help?
- The importance of being Rockwell** *a discussion with Milton Glaser* 40  
He was a mythmaker to a tribe that has now lost its covers
- The wire services' banana republics** *by Michael Massing* 45  
Most Americans haven't heard of them, but the AP and UPI Spanish-language services have a life and politics all their own

## INTERLOCKING DIRECTORATES

- Journalism has a problem: newspapers share directors with the institutions they cover** *by Peter Dreier and Steve Weinberg* 51
- Who they are: the names and ties of the directors of the 25 largest newspaper companies** 54
- Back to the people with the mom-and-pop press** *by Charles R. Eisendrath* 72  
There's hard work—and readers—in them thar hills
- The American card plays China** *by Orville Schell* 76  
Bob Hope wasn't just on the road, he was also on a beat

## DEPARTMENTS

- Chronicle** 7  
The *Detroit Free Press's* Cambodian connection; CBS ducks desegregation in Philadelphia; RTNDA's desert outing
- At issue** 17  
William A. Rusher on the power of the press
- Publisher's notes** 24
- Comment** 28
- Books** 79  
Peter Steinfelds reviews *Confessions of a Conservative*, by Garry Wills; Sanford J. Ungar discusses Mort Rosenblum's *Coups and Earthquakes: Reporting the World for America*; Ron Dorfman looks at Lloyd Wendt's history of the *Chicago Tribune*
- Unfinished business** 92  
Letters from David A. Anderson, Dick Cady, John Murray, and others
- Reports** 95
- National News Council report** 99
- The lower case** 113

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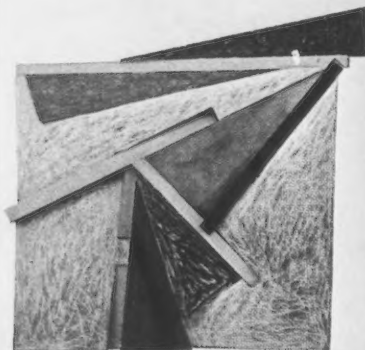
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# What's goi

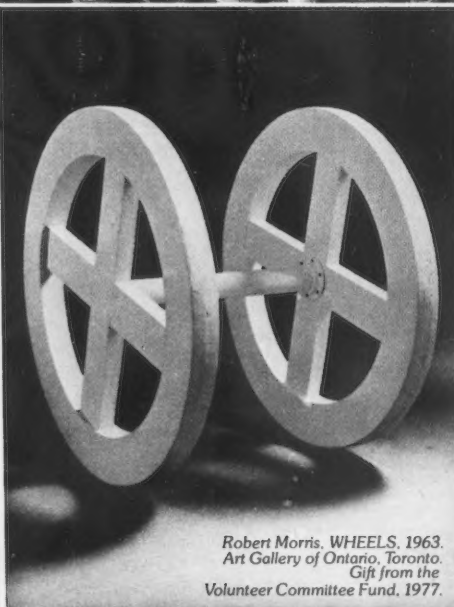
Andy Warhol, SELF-PORTRAIT, 1978.  
Collection the artist



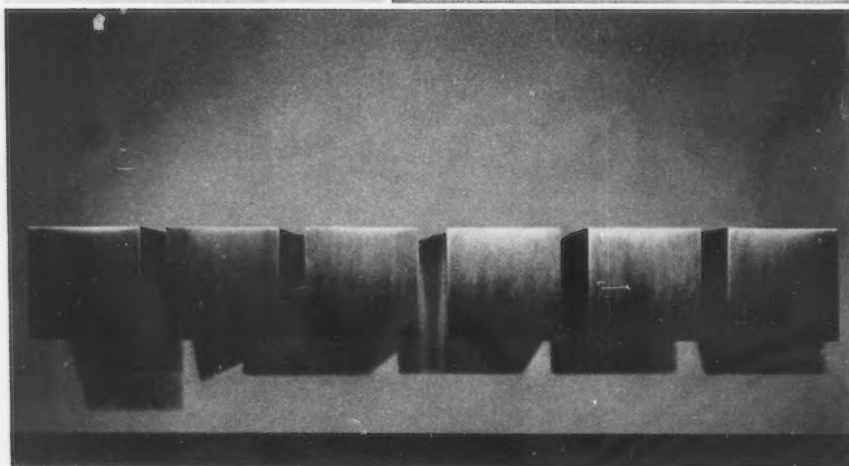
Frank Stella, MORRO DA VIUVA II, 1975.  
Private collection



Jim Dine, (STILL LIVES), PAINTING ON MANHATTAN ISLAND, 1978. Collection Deutsche Bank, New York



Robert Morris, WHEELS, 1963.  
Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto.  
Gift from the  
Volunteer Committee Fund, 1977.



Donald Judd, UNTITLED, 1966-1968. Layton Art Collection, Milwaukee Art Center



Roy Lichtenstein, PORTRAIT, 1977. Private collection



# ng on here?



You're looking at some pictures and constructions of contemporary American artists whose work once baffled, infuriated and delighted us, depending on your point of view. They challenged us then to see the things we'd always seen but never seen. And they succeeded.

Once these artists and their works were separately sealed in boxes labeled "pop" and "minimal." Now we can see them as part of the whole, of the single thread of our lives and times—in a stunning new exhibition organized by the Milwaukee Art Center titled "Emergence and Progression: Six Contemporary American Artists," the first that brings together their disparate responses to their common challenge.

They teach us, each artist in his own way, that beneath the simple lies the complex, and that we can only discover what is really going on by looking at it long enough.

That's one reason we sponsored this exhibition and why we hope you can see it at the times and places listed below. In our business as in yours, we need to be reminded that in the search for fresh insights, the simplest and most familiar things can be as productive as the exotic and esoteric. Sponsorship of art that reminds us of this—and of our need for individual imagination, individual creativeness and individual innovativeness—is not patronage. It's a business and human necessity.

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"Emergence and Progression: Six Contemporary American Artists" appears at the Milwaukee Art Center, Milwaukee, WI October 11 to December 9, 1979; Virginia Museum of Fine Art, Richmond, VA January 16-March 2, 1980; J. B. Speed Art Museum, Louisville, KY April 1-June 29; New Orleans Museum of Art, New Orleans, LA July 25-September 14, 1980. This exhibition is made possible by grants from Philip Morris Incorporated, Miller Brewing Company and Philip Morris Industrial.



**"Our liberty depends on freedom  
of the press, and that cannot be  
limited without being lost."**

Thomas Jefferson

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# CHRONICLE

## Showboat people

In the frantic race to cover the Indochina refugee story, the *Detroit Free Press* has taken a considerable lead over the competition. Not content merely to report on the refugee camps in Thailand or on Vietnamese adjustment problems in the U.S., the *Free Press* has taken the novel step of sponsoring its own family.

On August 8, the paper concluded a four-part, front-page series on the refugees' plight with the announcement that a Cambodian family would come to live in the Detroit area under the auspices of *Free Press* employees. MEET YOUR NEW NEIGHBORS: CAMBODIANS COMING TO DETROIT, ran the headline. After describing the Nhothsiri family's escape from Cambodia and its subsequent suffering in a Thai refugee camp, religion writer Harry Cook wrote that "the Nhothsiris are hoping for a better future in the United States." It was Cook who had originally proposed the idea and, before leaving for Thailand to report the series, he had arranged with a Lutheran service agency to help resettle the displaced Cambodians near Detroit.

The paper explained its plan in a "Dear Reader" letter from executive editor David Lawrence, Jr. accompanying Cook's article. "This story," Lawrence wrote, "could (or should) have some special meaning to people who live in a country with a tradition of beckoning the hungry and homeless to our shores." Merely to write about the refugees is not enough, he went on: "Harry Cook suggested we do more than report. He suggested we become involved—sponsor a refugee family in America, line up housing and schools and jobs, arrange for medical and dental care." The paper, in short, was to set an example.

Newsroom reaction to the proposal was decidedly mixed. "My first impression was that if the *Free Press* wanted to be benevolent with its money, why didn't it help out a poor family on the lower east side?" reporter Joyce Walker-Tyson recalls. "I thought it was a little bit showboaty."

The play given the story didn't discourage that impression. The August 8 front-page announcement of the spon-

sorship was accompanied by a four-column photo of the ten-member family. Then, on August 16, soon after the refugees arrived, the *Free Press* ran a photo spread that showed the family settling in for all Detroit to see. CAMBODIAN REFUGEES HAVE A NEW HOME, the Knight-Ridder paper announced under a shot of the family lined up in front of a guest house on the horse farm of a Michigan businessman. *Free Press* readers were also treated to a look at an eight-year-old Nhothsiri daughter sleeping in the arms of the family's host; another showed the father admiring a horse on the businessman's sixty-acre estate. The caption noted that "the Nhothsiris are a family of 10 who came to the United States under sponsorship of a group of *Free Press* employees."

According to Joan Post, who supervised the project for the Lutheran Social Services, the editors decided to attribute sponsorship to *Free Press* employees, rather than to the paper itself, to avoid any suspicion that the paper was exploiting the family. But the sponsorship decision was made by the paper's editors without first consulting the staff. "When we heard about it," says one reporter, "it was fact, not somebody's bright idea." Lawrence admits that no general announcement of the sponsorship was made to the staff,

but says that the paper made no effort to keep it a secret, either.

While the *Free Press* trumpeted its employees' generosity, the staff members themselves displayed little inclination to become involved with the Cambodians. A notice posted on the newsroom bulletin board after Cook returned from his trip asked for donations of time, money, and used clothing. But aside from a few dollars and some clothes, little was contributed. One reporter says that most staff members regard the refugees as "Harry's family" and therefore his problem.

Other staff members feel it is the paper's problem. "We're supposed to cover the news, not create it," says one reporter. "I think getting involved in the story you're reporting makes it impossible to remain objective. Newspapers ought to be in the business of reporting news—period."

"I'm not aware of any problems raised about our sponsorship," says reporter Cook. "I see what we're doing as in the same category as the *New York Times*'s Hundred Neediest Cases campaign. We're not trying to prove anything, for Christ's sake."

Gary Diedrichs, editor of *Monthly Detroit* magazine, views the sponsorship in another light. "The *Free Press* has traditionally been underdog to the *News*," he says. "The sponsorship is a case of one-upsmanship. It's a matter of taking to the most cynical extreme the problems of refugees in Indochina."

Thom Rae

Thom Rae is a freelance writer based in Detroit.

As the *Free Press* saw it: the Nhothsiris settle in



continued

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## CHRONICLE

### In Philly, fair is foul

In many American cities, voluntary school desegregation has dropped from the ranks of politically sensitive issues. But not in Philadelphia. There, a series of four ads promoting a new desegregation program has set off a tug-of-war between the city's board of education and local TV stations. Since it began in late summer, the struggle has raised questions about the rights of broadcasters to reject commercials and their obligation, under the fairness doctrine, to address controversial issues.

"Philadelphia is a fine city of neighborhoods," begins one of the thirty-second spots produced by the Philadelphia School District. School board member Augustus Baxter is talking:

Today we have a chance to desegregate our schools without federal intervention. As people of goodwill, and at the eleventh hour before court mandate, parents and children might examine new quality educational programs. Make choices wherever these programs are. Visit your schools. Give our plan a chance. We do not need to be a Boston or a Louisville. We are Philadelphians.

The ads were created to publicize the city's voluntary desegregation program for the 1979-80 school year. The plan, approved by Pennsylvania's state courts in 1978, was formulated as an alternative to a federally mandated solution that would likely include forced busing.

Two Philadelphia stations, WCAU and WPVI, found Baxter's statement provocative, and refused to sell air time to run it. WPVI, the ABC affiliate, agreed in early August to screen the three other ads, and KYW, the NBC affiliate, has been airing all four as public service announcements. But WCAU, a CBS owned-and-operated station, still refuses to run the Baxter ad and two others, contending that they advocate a position on the controversial matter of school desegregation. "The bottom line on the rejected spots is that overall CBS policy—not just at this station—has always been that we won't accept commercial messages taking a controversial view on issues of public importance," says Daniel Gold, WCAU vice president and general manager.

Each of the spots encourages students and parents to investigate Philadelphia's new magnet schools, which, through special curricula, seek to attract students of both races from all parts of the

city. "Everybody loves the magnet school program, even conservatives," remarks Bill Jones, information director for the school district. "But CBS sees desegregation per se as controversial."

One of the ads that WCAU rejected features an interracial group of high school students discussing how the new plan is working.

STUDENT ONE: Did you know there are other programs outside of your neighborhood school that take volunteer pupils? I volunteered and now I'm glad I did.

STUDENT TWO: And you know that, aside from programs we have here at the High School for the Creative and Performing Arts, there are also programs in Philadelphia for math, science, and the humanities.

STUDENT THREE: Yeah. And I think it's great there are kids from so many different racial and ethnic backgrounds here and we are communicating and working together.

STUDENT FOUR: I've been here since the program first started and I find it an exciting and challenging experience.

George Dessart, vice president for CBS TV stations in New York, says the o-and-o objected to the comment of the third student, a black teenager: "I may think that's a great statement, but it nonetheless takes a stand on the issue." In a letter sent to the school board over the summer, WCAU manager Florence Satinsky had explained the rejection of the ad by writing: "The youngster's comments about students with different ethnic and racial backgrounds working together is indeed a euphemistic comment on desegregation."

WCAU's decision was based on a twenty-year-old CBS guideline. "We have a policy of restricting commercials to goods and services," says Dessart. "We won't allow sponsors to advocate particular positions. We feel issues should be discussed in the news, public affairs broadcasts, editorials, and editorial replies, where they can be given detailed consideration away from the 'jingoism' of advertisements." WCAU, he notes, has covered the desegregation issue in its newscasts.

The policy described by Dessart is, in a nutshell, CBS's interpretation of the fairness doctrine, the FCC standard that, on the one hand, requires broadcasters to address issues of public importance and, on the other, to treat them in a balanced way, presenting a wide range of opinion. "We think the fairness doctrine would pose obligations for us were we to sell time for controversial issues,"



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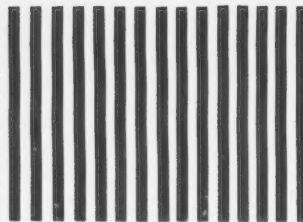
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## CHRONICLE

says Dessart, meaning that if the station were to air the school board commercials, it might be required to provide free time to opposing views.

Nicholas Johnson, chairman of the Washington-based National Citizens Communications Lobby and a former FCC commissioner, disputes WCAU's stance. "The law doesn't require that every conceivable format be balanced," he says. "For an ad, the law doesn't require them to sell time to the other side. It only requires that, in the totality of programming, the station must provide an opportunity for a range of views to be heard."

In determining which views reach the air, TV stations have enjoyed the right to reject advertising since 1973, when the Supreme Court ruled that CBS did not have to accept commercials from the Democratic National Committee. Broadcast editorial decisions, the Court declared, should be as free as possible

from government interference. That decision has allowed broadcasters to achieve the balance required by the fairness doctrine by simply ignoring controversial matters altogether.

Only once, in 1976, has the FCC ruled against a station that had neglected to cover a matter of public importance. As a result, broadcasters now face few official sanctions if they evade issues significant to their communities. "Desegregation is a controversial issue in Philadelphia," observes David Beddow, vice president and general manager of KYW, the station which decided to run all four ads as unpaid public service announcements. "As a licensee, we have an obligation under the fairness doctrine to deal with controversial issues. To refuse to run the ads because they deal with a controversial issue is an untenable position." Untenable, perhaps, but commonplace.

M.M.

## Newsman's holiday

My desk was covered with piles of unread magazines, yellowing newspapers, and days-old memos, but I was nonetheless intent on attending the September 6-8 annual meeting of the Radio and Television News Directors Association (RTNDA) in Las Vegas. I hoped to witness more of the dynastic shift that has taken place in recent years as the crusty, curmudgeonly newspaper editor of legend has given way to the TV news director as the guiding intelligence behind the news.

And so it was with considerable curiosity that I flew from New York to Las Vegas and checked into Caesar's Palace along with 445 other news directors from across the country. Carrying my suitcase in one hand and a fistful of RTNDA brochures in the other, I walked through the lobby past maxichested women wearing microskirts, past spindly-legged men in Bermuda shorts feeding coins into whirring one-armed bandits.

The conference itself began with some promise. After flying in from ABC News in Washington, Howard K. Smith warned of increased government hostility toward the press. Paul Davis, news director of WCIA-TV in Champagne, Illinois, and RTNDA president, led a discussion on threats to the First Amendment, and Richard Schmidt,

general counsel of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, conducted a panel on access to the courts in the wake of the *Gannett* decision.

But attendance was sparse. Those news directors not tempted by the usual Las Vegas distractions were drawn to the sixty display booths where a wide variety of companies was offering up shiny news-gathering hardware and sophisticated broadcast services. Here they could gawk at helicopters with remote-control cameras, at fancy transmitters, at the latest in cameras, relays, and recorders. It looked like a broadcast newsman's version of Macy's toy department on a Saturday afternoon.

Over lunch the next day, Bill Leonard, president of CBS News, struck a serious note: "We must realize that greater quantity and more popularity are important, but not enough. That unless we are careful, the new commercial success of some television news programming may be our undoing. For the great danger to our profession is a blurring of the lines between news and entertainment."

Some news directors sat straight in their chairs and listened attentively; a few even took notes. Others, however, studied their fingernails and flipped through guides to Las Vegas nightlife. Leonard's words penetrated the room like the solemn knocks of a judge's gavel, and faded just as quickly. At the end



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of his speech, a few earnest souls rushed forward to shake hands; most drifted out into the casino, where they played a few rounds of blackjack, or out to the pool, where they squinted at the well-oiled women.

A session that afternoon got to the heart of the matter. News consultants Al Primo, former vice president of news for ABC's owned-and-operated stations, and Ron Tindiglia, former news director at New York's WABC-TV, prescribed a formula for success according to the precepts of the Eyewitness News school. They talked about pacing, about story angles, about how to shoot talking heads. They scanted the concerns of news directors who might have wanted to know how to go beyond fires and snipers to in-depth social and political reporting, or who wanted to know how to get background material into the hands of reporters when their newsrooms have no morgues.

On Saturday morning, three faculty members from midwestern universities discussed how to teach reporting. About thirty people showed up. Many times that number appeared later in the day at panels bearing such titles as: Stress Thrives in the Newsroom, Gaining Control of Your Time, and How to Get Anybody to Do What You Want.

The convention's display area continued to swing. Representatives of the National Right To Work Committee tried hard to buttonhole passing news directors, but they were fighting an uphill battle. Nearby, a display for Paul Harvey's radio syndication company featured a gorgeous redhead—a come-on that few of the mostly male delegates could resist.

By Saturday afternoon, the news directors were preparing to head back to Wilmington, North Carolina, and Tucson, Arizona. At the registration desk, they asked for their bills, checked their watches, and took one last look in the direction of the casino. The RTNDA's thirty-fourth international conference was just about over. The keynote speeches had all been given by network executives, not by news directors. Instead of debating the problems facing the news business, delegates had listened to the smooth chatter of news consultants and shopped for the latest broadcast hardware.

Ed Turner, news director at KWTB in Oklahoma City, wondered aloud about his three days in Vegas. Turner has seen the business from almost every

angle. "Maybe it won't mean that much when they get home," he said hopefully. "Maybe when they get back to their home cities, substance really does count."

Mark B. vS. Monsky

Mark B. vS. Monsky is vice president-news for Metromedia TV and WNEW-TV in New York.

## Pickle redux

The star-spangled pickle spoof (CJR, "Deli Journalism," September/October) caused a briny splash among some of the *Review's* more alert readers, who pointed out that the red, white, and blue pickle of farmer Abel Gruss had many illustrious predecessors.

Gruss was cited in a *Waterbury Republican* story, datelined "Winsted, Connecticut," as having perfected the patriotic pickle four years ago. The Winsted reference was the giveaway. That dateline gained notoriety for bizarre nature tales in the early 1900s, thanks to the efforts of the managing editor of the *Winsted Evening Citizen*,

Louis T. Stone, alias the "Winsted Liar." Stone, a newspaperman for over forty of his fifty-seven years, put Winsted on the map by his "ingenious and queer stories" about local fauna and flora, according to a signpost that once stood in the town.

Stone's pieces were regularly picked off the AP wire by papers across the country. Among Stone's subjects, according to Curtis D. MacDougall's *Hoaxes*, were a cat with a harelip that whistled "Yankee Doodle," a pet trout named Pete who ate from Stone's hand, and even a hen that laid star-spangled eggs on July Fourth (presumably, no relation to the pickle).

Stone's features provided him not only with creative outlets but also, reportedly, a sizable fortune. At the time of his death in 1933, Stone owned eight cottages and sixty acres of valuable land at a scenic lake near Winsted. For *Waterbury Republican* stringers Gregory Zabielski and Ed Chaberek, however, the experience with creative journalism has been somewhat more sour, having cost them their jobs. Apparently, what the Fourth Estate has gained in national importance, it has lost in its sense of humor. L.J.

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to develop energy and related petrochemicals. We also plan to put the additional income from decontrol of crude oil prices into developing more U.S. energy.

At a time when some people would limit the size of energy companies, we think it is worth noting the vital contribution that large companies are making.



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# AT ISSUE

## The press rampant

by WILLIAM A. RUSHER

In Venice one can see to this day, not far from the Cathedral San Marco, a stone lion whose mouth stands invitingly open. In medieval times it was the custom of Deep Throat's Venetian predecessors to drop anonymous accusations and other messages into this beast's capacious maw, for the information of the Serenissima Repubblica's dread Council of Ten.

In modern times we have slightly modified Venice's technique for dealing with such confidences. In place of the stone lion, we have the news media; and the information is conveyed, not to a Council of Ten, but to the entire nation. The media, moreover, unlike the lion, are not condemned to a sterile neutrality concerning any confidential accusations they receive; they will evaluate them and pass along only the ones they deem true and important.

But is that really the kind of society we want to encourage?

The news media today are bidding for even greater powers than those they already possess, and it is high time to review the bidding.

The journalistic profession has a spacious concept of itself as a bulwark of freedom and truth. But if one thing may be said to have characterized most of the press most of the time throughout our history—as liberals, until very recently, were usually the first to remind us—it was its enthusiastic complicity with whatever powers might be: notably advertisers, and the business establishment generally.

When real power in this country passed, with the New Deal, from

business to government, and from the states and localities to Washington, the press went right along with it. Franklin Roosevelt and his ménage had no more loyal spear-carriers than the vast majority of the Washington press corps. Right through the Kennedy administration, *The New York Times* and other bellwethers of the press were passionate defenders of executive privilege against the allegedly unconstitutional encroachments of a prying Congress.

It was not until the liberals' belated break with Lyndon Johnson in or about 1966, over the Vietnam war, that the people's right to know became journalistic dogma. And that, of course, was only because the Washington press corps, being by and large sympathetic to the antiwar cause, decided to go after Johnson. For this purpose it began to recruit, in previously unheard-of quantities, informants among the numerous antiwar liberals in the lower and middle ranks of the executive branch.

Under Nixon, of course, the executive branch positively seethed with liberal and leftist underlings opposed to Nixon's policies and liberated from any traditional sense of loyalty to him. The Washington press corps zestily converted itself into a whole swarm of Drew Pearsons, and the stream of damaging classified information from the executive branch became a torrent. The battle between the press and the administration continued until Nixon was forced to resign in August 1974—not, by the way, because Woodward and Bernstein "uncovered" Watergate, but because Judge Sirica broke the case by imposing long "provisional" sentences on the burglars.

Since then, leading representatives of the press have sought eager-

ly to consolidate the broadest powers that their most imaginative attorneys can claim for the profession: immunity to prosecution for any libel not provably deliberate; immunity from injunctive restraint upon anything they elect to publish, however secret or damaging to the security of the country; immunity from a search warrant even though it has been issued by a judge for probable cause; and the privilege, unique in the land, to blare abroad any information they choose to publish, while concealing the motives and identity of their informants. The courts have yielded only reluctantly, if at all, to these demands. The struggle is still under way, and its outcome very definitely in doubt.

**T**ake the journalist's alleged "privilege to protect his sources." For all practical purposes the legal question did not arise until the 1950s, no journalist having previously dreamed of asserting such a privilege. James W. Carey, dean of communications at the University of Illinois and former president of the Association for Education in Journalism, may have been ten years behind the times (and *The New York Times*), but he was only restating long tradition when he said in August 1978, "There should be only rare and well-defined exceptions to the rule that a journalist always reveals his sources; secrecy and journalism are contradictions."

The first reporter to violate this rule, when ordered by a court to honor it, was a New York *Herald Tribune* radio-TV columnist named Marie Torre, who in 1957 quoted anonymously some remarks of a CBS executive concerning Judy Garland. Litigation ensued, and when Torre refused to identify the executive she was jailed for ten days

*William A. Rusher is the publisher of the National Review, and a lawyer.*

for contempt of court—a conviction upheld in 1958 by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit. The Supreme Court denied *certiorari*.

In *Branzburg v. Hayes* (1972) the Court similarly allowed the jail sentence of a Louisville, Kentucky, reporter to stand, on the ground that he was guilty of contempt for refusing to testify before a grand jury concerning a drug racket he had exposed. Justice Powell, playing his subsequently familiar role as the concurring swing man in a 5-4 decision, did urge trial courts to respect the confidentiality of a reporter's sources as far as possible, and to compel disclosures only when, as he apparently felt was the case in *Branzburg*, the reporter's testimony was directly relevant and there was no other way to obtain the necessary evidence. But Powell's concurring opinion in the *Branzburg* case accordingly represents the not very high high-water mark of Supreme Court recognition of a protected status for journalistic sources.

(Incidentally, the alleged analogy

between the so-called "reporter's privilege" and the four types of communication treated as privileged at common law—those between doctor and patient, lawyer and client, clergyman and penitent, husband and wife—is so fragile that it collapses on the slightest inspection. All four common law privileges *protect the communication, not the communicator*. In all four, the identity of the communicator is known, but the substance of the communication may be withheld at the instance of the communicator in order to serve a greater public good—for example, to encourage clients to speak freely with their lawyers. In the case of a reporter and an anonymous source, the substance of the communication, far from being kept confidential, is blared around the world; what is kept secret is the identity of the communicator—the dubious theory being that anonymous revelations will serve the best interest of the American public.)

The news media have taken comfort from the reaction of legislators

to the courts' resistance to their claims of privileges and immunities. Politicians know all about how to curry favor with journalists, and no less than twenty-six state legislatures have rushed to enact shield laws to relieve journalists of the normal obligation to tell, when properly ordered by a judge to do so, what they know about a matter before the court. The legislators can vote for these laws with a comparatively good conscience, however, because they know that the courts will declare them unconstitutional to the extent that their application actually threatens to deprive anybody of a fair trial.

As the bipartisan support for such laws suggests, this whole problem resolutely refuses to be fitted into the usual procrustean form of a liberal-conservative controversy. Liberals, it is true, have by and large tended to support the claims of the media, mostly because they so enthusiastically support the major political purposes to which

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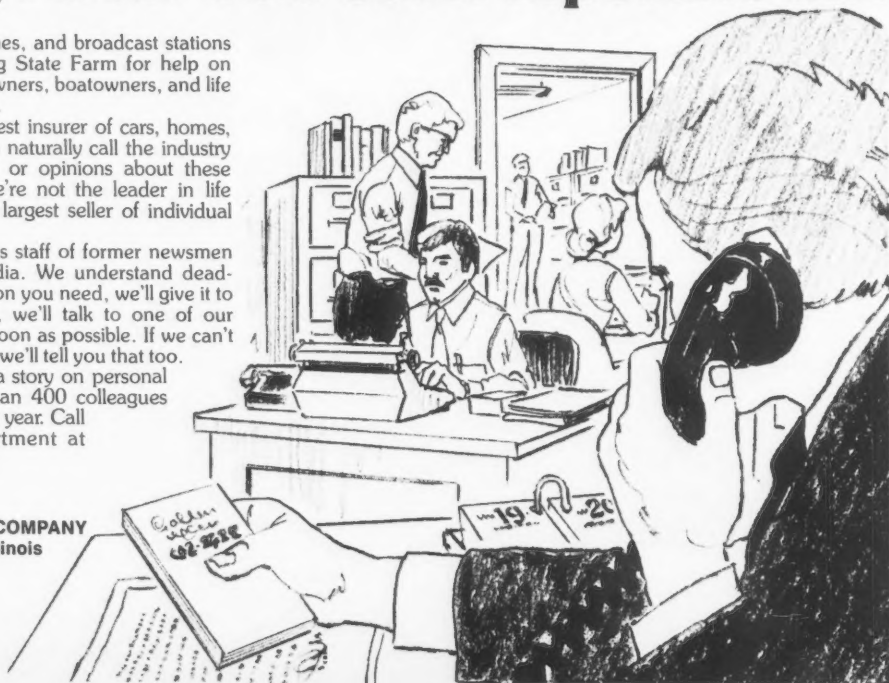
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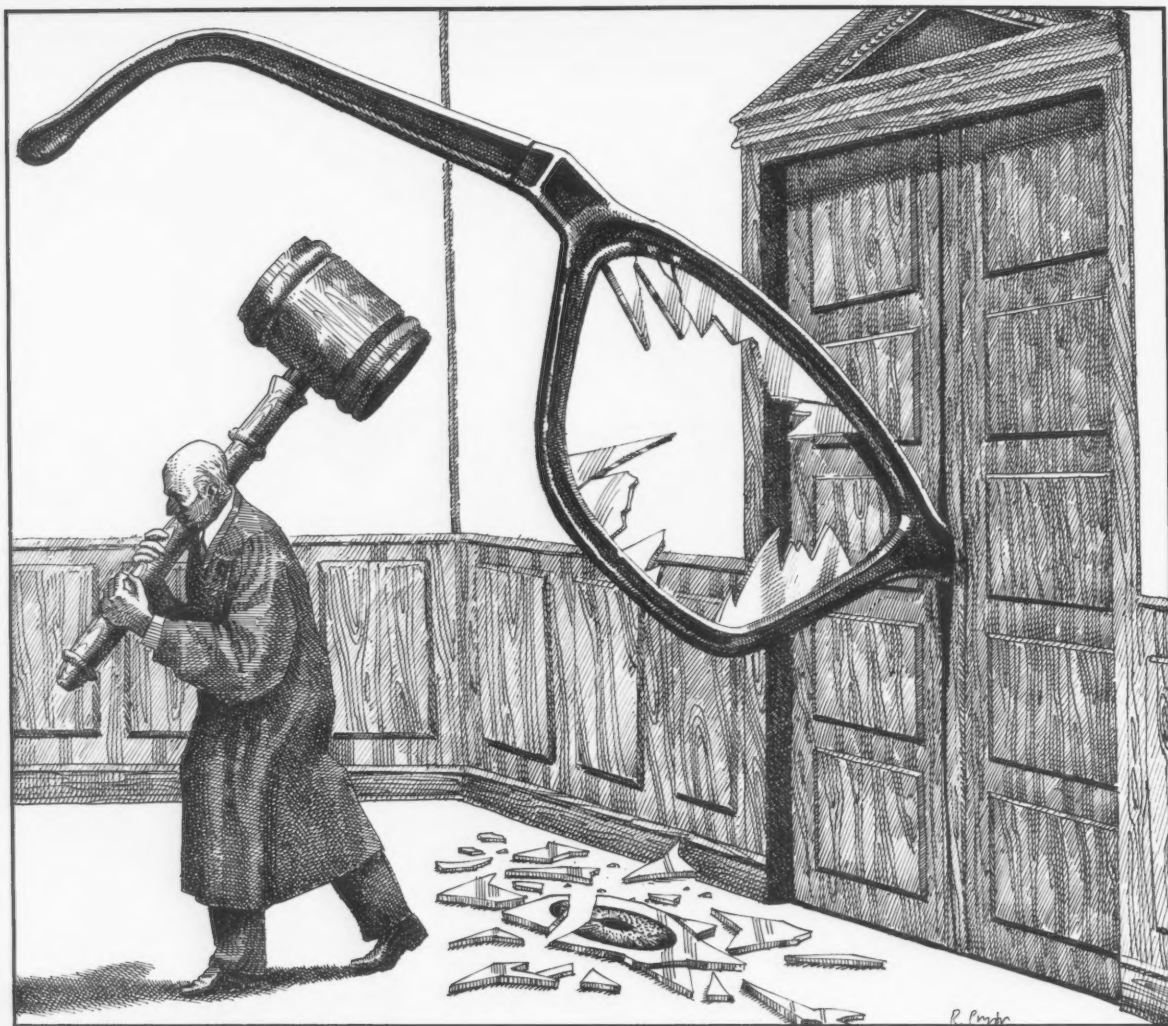
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the media's growing power has thus far been put: opposition to the Vietnam War, promoting the downfall of Richard Nixon, and so on. But sooner or later liberals will realize, as Hubert Humphrey's longtime aide Max Kampelman recently warned, that the chief beneficiary of this power is not some ink-stained wretch with a pencil behind his ear, but a group of huge corporate conglomerates whose devotion to liberalism, however total in recent years, has not been historically consistent and certainly isn't predictably eternal.

Many conservatives, moreover, have been as shortsighted and inconsistent as most liberals in this matter. Loving liberty and fearing government, they have persuaded themselves that they hear, behind the words of the Supreme Court majority ordering newsmen to comply with ordinary civic obligations, the harsh voice of Big Daddy. But surely conservatives ought to know, better than most people, that it is arbitrary and irresponsible power that is

deadly, regardless of who wields it. The hand that provides—and thereby inevitably censors—the information we all receive is, necessarily, a powerful hand. The instinct to modulate and circumscribe its power is perfectly sound.

**I**t is a relief to be able to report that not all newsmen want the swollen powers for which many of their colleagues are now contending. Reporters of the older school in particular—for example, Clark Mollenhoff, the former Washington bureau chief of *The Des Moines Register* and *Tribune* (and a Pulitzer Prize-winner)—have warned against giving the press special privileges “beyond anything but absolute monarchs.” And when it comes to legislative responses to the judiciary, some of these journalists point out that if government can confer a “shield” on newsmen today, it can remove that shield tomorrow.

Not surprisingly, lawyers have been less zealous than most journalists in arguing that the First Amend-

ment confers any special status on the media. As Yale law professor and former solicitor general Robert Bork warned in a recent talk, “Special privileges almost always are accompanied by regulation of the licensees.” Journalists, by demanding unique powers and privileges, may be pushing their profession straight into the jaws of government control. Today Congress is smiling on the media; tomorrow it may lick its chops.

In any case, there is no excuse for failing to recognize that the traditional role and prerogatives of the news media are widely misrepresented. If this country is going to confer unique privileges and immunities upon one segment of our society—a segment, moreover, already immensely powerful and incestuously like-minded—let's at least not pretend it is the courts that are trying to break new ground by resisting this attempt. What we are witnessing is a bold bid by the media for brand-new powers, and it ought to be recognized as precisely that. ■

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## PUBLISHER'S NOTES

### TV trends

At this moment, this writer is suffering a spell of combined depression and encouragement. As one of six judges for the Alfred I. duPont-Columbia University Awards for television journalism, I have spent five days viewing videotapes of notable TV journalism. The depression stems from the fact that the overwhelming majority of nominated programs deals with the seamy or downbeat side of society—crime, incest, child abuse, mental hospitals, governmental chicanery, airline crashes, arson, poverty, pollution, and disease. The encouragement springs from the steady increase in the number of “good” to “excellent” programs, which reached an all-time peak this year. In ten years, total nominees have gone from 200 to 1,300.

There is nothing strange about the predominance of depressing subjects. After all, one of the missions of enterprising journalism is to expose the shoddy and help induce improvements. The favorite subjects of TV documentaries, incidentally, come in waves. Four years ago there was a wave of nominees dealing with mental institutions. Three years ago a favorite subject was abortion. This year it is pollution of air and water with toxic chemical wastes. There is only an occasional upbeat program—a profile of a warm and engaging individual or a notable joint effort to improve a community. The message seems to be that TV documentary producers believe the best thing they can do is to expose the worst in our society.

On the encouraging side, we observed a remarkable increase in the number of TV stations, including some in small communities, that are managing to produce documentaries or mini-documentary series with skill, balance, and sensitivity.

It is not for this writer to reveal the winners. Readers can sample excerpts of the winning broadcasts on public television stations on the evening of February 28.

### Nuclear ‘secrets’

Many of us sighed with relief at the Justice Department’s dropping its attempts to block publication of Charles Hansen’s letter on how to build an H-bomb. It seemed a teapot tempest over a manuscript that was based on information from libraries and other readily accessible sources.

The whole flap brought to mind a half-jesting point made by a former secretary of the army. One way to paralyze the Soviet government for years, he said, would be to copy every classified document in Washington, load the copies on ships, and send them to Moscow.

The whole fracas over pre-censoring so-called secrets raises questions as to whether the original atomic-secrets legislation is now out of date—and whether the Congress should not revise and modernize the legislation. In general, we still believe that if official secrets are to be kept, they must be kept within the government. What reporters can learn can usually be learned by diligent foreign agents.

### CJR status report

It is satisfying to state that after eighteen years of uncertain existence, the *Review* has attained the status of a solvent, going operation. For most of the years since its founding in 1961, the magazine struggled, and it survived because of financial help from Columbia University, from foundations that believed in its purposes, and from loyal friends of the enterprise. Meanwhile, numerous other publications devoted to the same general cause have come and gone.

Now the combination of 34,000 readers and a healthy list of major advertisers has put the *Review* modestly into the black. With a strengthened staff, the *Review* now has an assured future in its role of helping to raise standards in all branches of journalism.

All of this doesn’t mean that the magazine could not use additional help. Those of us concerned with it are eager to undertake certain major projects that are beyond our immediate resources. Among these projects are: a continuing audit of journalism’s performance with regard to racial problems; a thorough study of the strengths and weaknesses of the great news services on which newspapers and broadcasters depend; a continuing critique of the best and worst in the reporting of business and economic developments; coverage of singularly enterprising reporting of cultural, scientific, and social developments. Special-purpose gifts and grants of \$5,000 to \$50,000 could be of great usefulness in each of these fields.

Meanwhile, the *Review* thanks you and other readers and advertisers for assuring the continuance of its basic role.

### Briefly noted

□ President Carter has taken to posing for individual newsphotos with members of visiting groups—for example, with each of fifty Jaycee state chairmen. It may not leave enough time for problems like inflation, energy, and foreign affairs, but it massages a lot of egos.

□ To our respected friends on the National News Council (and to the CJR staff member who proofread the report), a small dart for “inhibiting the media in its critical function” (CJR, September/October, page 90). At the risk of repeating ourselves, the singular is “medium.”

□ The judge and prosecutor in the *Progressive* case deleted from the magazine’s Court of Appeals brief as too sensitive a quotation from the *Review*’s editorial about the case!

□ The *Review*’s cover is parodied in the whacky new book *The 80s: A Look Back at the Tumultuous Decade 1980–1989*. Cover lines include “Liz Smith at the Gridiron” and “Rex Reed on Existential Libel.”

E.W.B.



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This year, the Rochester Institute of Technology celebrates its 150th year of commitment to quality careers. Students who earn a B.S. degree at RIT are well-equipped to meet the many challenges facing the newspaper industry. Each graduate, therefore, is one more reason for us at Rockwell-Goss — and you who are also committed to our industry — to look to the future with optimism. As the leading manufacturer of newspaper

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presses, we have supported RIT with substantial donations of systems and equipment — and we'll continue to do so. We're helping them help you because our interest in newspapering doesn't end with the production of press equipment. It encompasses anything and everything that

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# Grand Illusion.

Ed Clarke is perplexed about his paycheck. So are we.

His check looks like a pretty healthy one. But this is just an illusion.

Because even though Ed got a raise only two months ago, his pay actually buys about 5% less than it did last year. Less food. Less recreation. Less gasoline. Less electricity. Less of almost everything.

For the past three years Ed's been losing ground to inflation... and to the higher taxes he has to pay since moving up a couple of tax brackets. All this, even though his apparent earnings are going up.

Ed's plight is shared by most of us. Inflation continues to eat away our earnings.

Chase believes our nation can adopt a workable procedure for getting at the inflation problem. Such an approach can avoid unwieldy, disruptive devices such as wage and price controls. A more

sensible program would, in our judgment, contain at least five elements:

1. An even more aggressive initiative toward balancing the federal budget.

2. A concerted push to increase business investment by encouraging personal savings and stimulating re-investment of corporate profits into business.

3. A greater drive for research and development by American business so that we can reassert technological leadership and accelerate productivity growth.

4. Establishment of realistic depreciation allowances to permit American industry to modernize plants, remain competitive and continue to generate a growing number of jobs in our economy.

5. Elimination of government overregulation that saps our industrial efficiency and hinders the creation of American jobs.

Such an approach, we

believe, while not radical or revolutionary, can be effective. If carried out, these proposals would lead to increased productivity, more stable prices and ultimately, deliver a body blow to the inflationary spiral.

A few years ago, President Ford labeled inflation "Public Enemy Number One." President Carter has stated that the battle against inflation is his highest priority.

Today, inflation *remains* our largest problem. If we are to reduce inflation's pernicious grip on our society, we must stop deluding ourselves and take the actions that are required. Now.



# CHASE

# COMMENT

## Progressive education

When the *Progressive* case began, many observers wondered how the government would seek to meet the deliberately arduous test against prior restraints established by the Supreme Court in the *Pentagon Papers* case—that publication could not be enjoined unless it “will surely result in direct, immediate, and irreparable damage to our Nation or its people.” They need not have wondered long. The government, while occasionally paying lip service to its ability to meet this test, began the case and, in general, pursued it by acting as if no First Amendment rights were at risk at all.

In its initial application for a temporary restraining order, the United States went so far as to urge that *The Progressive* would not even be “substantially harmed” by the issuance of injunctive relief—a position which can only be described as incredible. From then on, the government’s submissions became still more troubling.

In relying upon language in the Atomic Energy Act to support the proposition that *The Progressive* was about to publish Restricted Data, the government urged two themes, each of which has vast potential for limiting free expression. It urged a definition of Restricted Data that was awesomely sweeping in its breadth and which could have been applied even to a journalist’s idle musings about atomic weapons. Beyond that, criminal sanctions or injunctions would be proper, according to the United States, even if the author or journalist himself conceived of the materials he was writing. Hence, information in this area was “born classified,” a term the government came, in so many words, to adopt.

As the case wore on, the incursions urged by the United States into First Amendment principles grew worse. By the time the case was ready for argument in the Court of Appeals, the United States had required portions of the briefs of *The Progressive* to be censored, sought a secret hearing of oral argument, and urged yet another newly minted and risky First Amendment theory: that no technical information was entitled to First Amendment protection.

The government dropped its efforts to bar publication when information similar to what *The Progressive* wished to print was published elsewhere. The article may now be read, but the case has not been resolved on its merits. In this context, I offer a few suggested lessons from the case:

□ Prior restraints on publication remain the single greatest threat to freedom of the press. Such re-

straints “fall on speech with a brutality and finality all their own,” observed *Pentagon Papers* lawyer Alexander Bickel: “A criminal statute chills; prior restraint freezes.” *The Progressive* was, indeed, frozen in its speech.

□ Prior restraints don’t work, anyway. The information was published elsewhere. It was bound to be.

□ The “national security” exception to the ban on prior restraints is itself dangerous. As Professor Thomas Emerson pointed out in a brilliant brief, *amicus curiae*, submitted on behalf of *Scientific American* magazine supporting *The Progressive*, such an exception invariably leads to claims by the United States of cataclysmic harm and to extended hearings, lengthy proceedings, and delay of publication—all, in any event, to little possible good. It was sheer happenstance (due, in part, to *The Progressive*’s questionable judgment in forwarding its article to the Department of Energy prior to publication) that gave the United States the chance to go to court in the case prior to publication.

Perhaps, as Emerson’s brief urged, there should be no exceptions to the rule against prior restraint, with the understanding that communication of information *exclusively* within the military sector (such as the details of actual military operations) would receive less First Amendment protection than the full protection afforded speech in the civilian sector. Alternatively, we might ban all prior restraints in all sectors of life, civilian and military, relying upon post-publication punishments to deter whatever limited kinds of expression (such as the transmission of espionage information) the First Amendment does not protect.

□ Fears of harm to national security are generally overstated. I say this despite the fact that, having now read the *Progressive* article, I am unpersuaded that there is any persuasive editorial justification for publishing what the article characterizes as details of the “secret” coupling device of which “no description . . . has ever been made public.” Or that what *The Progressive* claims is the “public gain” from publication is equal to its possible risks. This is my opinion, but I may be mistaken—as were, for example, the members of the Supreme Court who thought publication of *The Pentagon Papers* would be harmful to national security. There is, in any event, no justification for confusing editorial judgments with legal ones.

□ The Atomic Energy Act remains a First Amendment minefield. It must be amended so as to prevent any interpretation such as the United States urged in the *Progressive* case.

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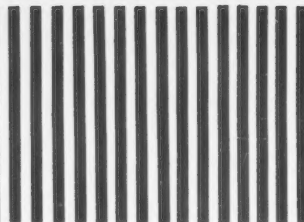
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□ The United States should never have gone to court in the first place. Not only should greater sensitivity to First Amendment interests have prevailed; so, too, should greater sensitivity to national security interests. Since the government has now added its imprimatur to some, if not all, of Howard Morland's descriptions of the coupling device and other matters, we may well wonder if foreign nations that would never have heard of *The Progressive* now believe that the article is accurate. Maybe not, but if so, our government must share the blame.

□ *The Progressive* deserves our thanks for fighting the good fight. Not all its decisions were correct—including, perhaps, the decision to publish in the first place. But if the government cannot win in a meaningful way a prior restraint case involving the H-bomb, what case can it win? And if it learns it can't win, maybe it won't try.

FLOYD ABRAMS

*Floyd Abrams, a member of the law firm of Cahill, Gordon & Reindel, has frequently represented media clients. He submitted an amicus curiae brief supporting The Progressive to the Court of Appeals on behalf of The New York Times and other news organizations.*

## Darts and laurels

**Laurel:** to the *Berkshire* (Mass.) *Sampler*, for a September 2 story by Julie Michaels on "The Hunger Project"—an impressive spread of unappetizing facts about a fatuous program to fight world hunger concocted by est guru Werner Erhard.

**Dart:** to *The Washington Star*, for unbecoming modesty in reporting a libel suit brought against itself and *The Washington Post*. Headlined ARLINGTON PROSECUTOR SUES POST, A REPORTER, the *Star's* August story didn't get around to mentioning its own involvement until the final sentence. (For contrast, see the *Post's* coverage on the same day: ARLINGTON PROSECUTOR SUING POST AND STAR FOR LIBEL.)

**Laurel:** to *The Village Voice*, for "3 Rms, Riv Vu, \$250??" by Cathleen Schine. The blistering August 20 piece moved in on a shameful scam operated by New York's real estate referral agencies and landed squarely at the door of the *Voice* itself for continuing to accept lucrative ads for nonexistent apartments.

**Laurel:** to those 200 CBS affiliates and their unshrinking advertisers who withstood a concerted campaign by the nursing home industry to cancel the August 27 rerun of a *Lou Grant* episode that portrayed the industry in an unfavorable light. (Only KMEG of Sioux City, Iowa, and KOB of Medford, Oregon, were too feeble to resist.)

**Dart:** to *Newsweek's* nodding editors, for a piece on Israeli spies in the United States that resurrected the old antisemitic canard about dual loyalties of American

Jews. "Mossad looks for any softening in U.S. support, and tries to get any technical intelligence the Administration is unwilling to give to Israel," ran the September 3 sidebar by Bob Levin and David C. Martin. The Israeli intelligence agency, it went on, quoting an unidentified former CIA official, "can go to any distinguished American Jew and ask for his help."

**Dart:** to Associated Press Newsfeatures, for "Taming the Killer Cell," by Alton Blakeslee, a ten-part series (starting June 18) on "the amazing progress being made in the fight against cancer" that ran in 230 papers. Despite an emphatic request by Blakeslee and the American Cancer Society, the syndicate's voluminous promotional material—including a 150-word bio—neglected to mention that Blakeslee is a paid consultant to the ACS.

**Laurel:** to *The New York Times*, for an enterprising September 12 report by Tony Schwartz on the use of chauffeur-driven limousines which are assigned to board of education members for their daily rounds of official business—such as regular trips to the hairdresser.

**Dart:** to the *Santa Cruz Sentinel* and its auto editor, Arnold Wechter, for an unnerving detour around reality. In a July 6 column evaluating Ford's 1979 Pinto, Wechter explained to readers that the "most maligned" car had "received its bad name when some crazy juries presented plaintiffs with outlandish awards for injuries received in accidents while passengers in the car. Of course, this brought the consumer nuts out in force and Ford and the Pinto received much unfair publicity."

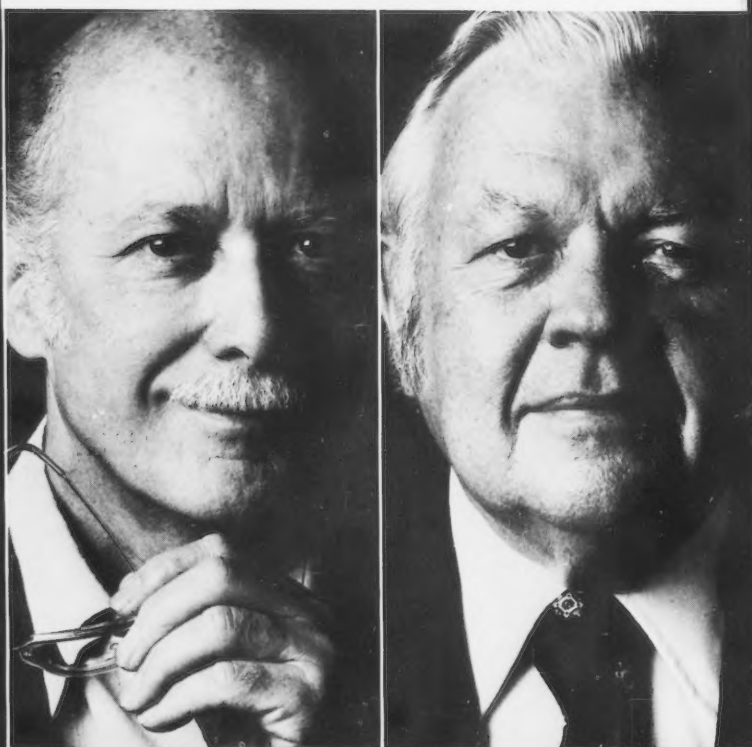
**Dart:** to WGN, Chicago, for foul play during its broadcasts of Cubs baseball games. The station's practice of jamming ninety seconds of commercials into the customary sixty-second inning break meant that fans missed the first pitch of the next inning. (And a laurel to *Chicago Tribune* media critic Gary Deeb for going to bat for the viewers.)

**Laurel:** to Gannett News Service, for a seven-month, seventeen-state, four-country investigation of a Vatican scandal. The series (beginning September 9) traced illegal and unethical activities (including the misappropriation of \$20 million in charitable funds) by the Pauline Fathers, a Polish order in Doyleston, Pennsylvania; the five-year probe initiated by Pope Paul VI; and the papal decree issued by John Paul II which quashed further inquiry and returned the order to the control of superiors who had been handpicked by the primate of Poland, the pope's mentor and friend.

**Laurel:** to *Ampersand*, a national arts and entertainment supplement for college newspapers, for its exemplary sense of publishing responsibility. The paper offered refunds to readers who had responded to a mail-order ad for togas and had been left without their shirts.

**Dart:** to *60 Minutes*. The CBS newsmagazine's August 19 segment—a contrived confrontation between Auschwitz survivor Fania Fenelon and PLO-sympathizer Vanessa Redgrave, the actress cast by CBS to portray her in its upcoming made-for-television movie—had the suspicious look of a network hype.

**One of these men is  
a loving grandpa,  
school principal,  
and a hazard to you.**



**Letters...  
we got  
letters!**

"I wonder how Washington is blackmailing you to sell their party line."

That's how one person reacted to our ad supporting the 55 mph speed limit. While many readers endorsed our position, a surprising number of them didn't. Either way, we were glad to have sparked so lively a discussion.

We're a large trade association representing property and casualty insurance companies, and we want the public to understand what affects the cost of their insurance.

Excessive speed is one

He drives too fast. About 65 mph. And though his driving record is good he's a danger to you and your family.

We're a major group of property and casualty insurance companies and our statistics show driving at the national 55 mph speed limit substantially reduces highway accidents and fatalities. The first year the 55 mph speed limit was in effect accidents were reduced by 8% and related fatalities by 16%. Gasoline consumption was reduced, too.

And driving slower also helped keep your insurance rates down. Because the cost of insurance is based on the number of accidents and the costs of injuries and repairs. Quite simply, when we don't have to pay out as much in claims, you don't have to pay out as much in premiums.

Unfortunately this safety trend is reversing, because drivers, like the man on the right, are ignoring the 55 mph speed limit. The statistics show it! In 1977, highway accidents were at a record high of 26.7 million, causing close to 6 million injuries. And the combined economic loss? An incredible \$43 billion! That's an average loss of \$590 per household.

Naturally, we want to cut these costs. Because by cutting them, we can keep your rates down. And helping you afford insurance helps us, too. Working together we can make driving a car a safer, less costly way to travel.

### Here's what we're doing:

- Asking for stricter enforcement of the 55 mph speed limit.
- Supporting legislation to get the unsafe driver and the unsafe vehicle off the road.
- Our Insurance Institute for Highway Safety is supporting efforts to make cars safer and less costly to repair.
- Improving the driving environment by pushing for safer guard rails, lamp posts and traffic signs.
- Investigating auto insurance claims more thoroughly.

### Here's what you can do:

- Observe the 55 mph speed limit.
- Don't drink if you're going to drive.
- Buckle your seat belts.
- Join with us in supporting safe driving legislation.
- Maintain your vehicle in safe driving condition.
- Drive thoughtfully.

This message is presented by:  
The American Insurance Association, 85 John Street, New York, NY 10038.

**Affordable insurance is our business...and yours.**

thing. When people started to ignore the 55 mph limit, the safety trend reversed and auto accidents climbed to a record high.

We would like to tell these people: "Losses due to accidents cost you money in higher auto insurance premiums whether or not you are personally involved. The concept of insurance is based on shared risk. Claims paid by insurance companies come from all policyholder premiums ...that is, from your money."

To deliver that message, our advertising discusses auto and

homeowners' insurance cost-factors such as inflation, auto theft and arson. Each ad tells what the industry is doing to contain insurance costs, and what the public can do. A better informed public can help us to contain insurance costs.

If you would like more information on what our industry is doing, or want to meet with one of our specialists to discuss insurance issues, please write to Ronald A. Krauss, Vice President-Communications, American Insurance Association, 85 John Street, New York, NY 10038.

This message is presented by:  
The American Insurance Association, 85 John Street, New York, NY 10038.

# "Taxflation."



## Washington's Windfall Profits.

While Congress and the President talk about "windfall profits" of the oil companies, let's not overlook another form of windfall: the excess taxes government collects because of inflation.

If the cost-of-living goes up 10 percent, revenue going into the federal treasury increases by about 16 percent. Put another way, when a worker gets a pay raise to keep up with the cost of living, that worker is pushed into a higher tax bracket. That means more taxes paid on what he or she earns. More money for the government, less buying power for the individual.

This year's "taxflation" windfall to the federal government is estimated to be about \$15 billion. That is \$15 billion that could have been used to strengthen the economy.

There is a certain hypocrisy about debating a tax on windfall profits in one sector of the economy, while ignoring the burden of higher taxes caused by inflation in another. Inflation can be corrected by responsible fiscal and monetary policies on the part of the federal government.

The percent of Gross National Product dedicated to the federal budget is now about 22 percent. But tax receipts last year were only about 19.5 percent of GNP. Both the amount of tax receipts and the amount of GNP which goes to federal spending must be reduced and *brought into balance*. A figure of about 18 percent of GNP by 1983 is a reasonable goal.

Small across-the-board budget cuts of about 5 percent a year would put the nation close to its goal of balanced federal budgets and reduce inflation. And that would be a windfall for all of us. Amway Corporation, Ada, MI 49355.

### Amway

*One of a series of messages to stimulate public dialogue about significant national issues.*



# The McGoff Grab

The Michigan publisher went on a bidding spree—  
the *Star*, *The Trib*, *The Oakland Tribune*.

John McGoff is now the subject of two federal investigations.

The *Review* offers a close-up  
of the embattled publisher who boosted South Africa

by KAREN ROTHMYER

In 1974, when John P. McGoff first expressed an interest in buying *The Washington Star*, Godfrey Kauffman, who was handling negotiations for the sale of the ailing paper, had never heard of the man. Nor had he heard of the Panax Corporation, which owned a chain of small-circulation newspapers and of which McGoff was president. In 1974 few people had heard of John McGoff, and most of them lived in either of two very different places: Michigan and South Africa.

At home, in Williamston, Michigan, McGoff was often involved in local squabbles; in South Africa he moved on a more exalted plane. In 1974, for example, the year Williamston voters ousted him from the local school board, McGoff and his wife—touring South Africa at that country's expense—spent a weekend at a hideaway with a small group of important Ministry of Information officials, including information secretary Eschel Rhoodie. In Williamston, McGoff could brag about knowing members of the Dow Chemical family; in South Africa he not only knew such high-ranking officials as Prime Minister John Vorster, but in 1975 he bought a ranch with the man touted as Vorster's successor, Information Minister Cornelius Mulder.

Unknown throughout most of his own country, regarded as something of a crank in his home town, the stocky, cocky, silvery-haired publisher was treated as a big shot by important South Africans in the early 1970s. The story of McGoff's South African connection—which preceded his many attempts to acquire media properties and the sudden growth of newspaper holdings under his control—suggests how easily some

elements of the American media might be converted into propaganda vehicles for foreign governments. It also suggests that a canny publisher can make use of a foreign government eager to buy U.S. public opinion and come out ahead on the deal—at least for a time. McGoff is currently the subject of a Washington, D.C. federal grand jury investigation. The focus is on whether, despite his denials, McGoff violated federal law by acting as an unregistered agent of the South African government. The Securities and Exchange Commission is looking into the purely financial dimension of his activities; it is believed that the SEC is interested in whether McGoff, by using Panax, a publicly held company, to promote his own ends, violated American securities law.

## McGoff cranks up

The son of a Pittsburgh steelworker, McGoff first saw Africa as a G.I. during World War II. He came to Michigan after the war to attend Michigan State University in East Lansing where, after graduating in 1950, he landed a job promoting alumni activities. In 1954 he moved up a notch; in his new post he arranged appearances around the state for entertainment and cultural groups sponsored by the university. It was not until 1959, when he was thirty-five, that McGoff made the most of a useful connection and started off on a new career. The connection was a younger friend named Michael Dow, a grandson of the founder of the Dow Chemical Company. With the assistance of Michael's father, an architect, the two men managed to obtain financing for their first venture, Mid-States Broadcasting Corporation, owner of an FM radio station. WSWM, a music-and-news station, was set up in a garage on an old farm in Williamston, a town of about 3,000 located some twenty miles east of Lansing. Panax headquarters were later built on this site.

*continued*

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*Karen Rothmyer, a former Wall Street Journal reporter, is currently a freelance writer in New York. The research on which this article was based was funded by the Center for Investigative Reporting.*

The new business prospered. Within a short time Mid-States owned half a dozen radio stations in Michigan and a couple of radio stations and one television station in Missouri. McGoff and Dow then turned to newspapers. In 1963 they formed Panax and started selling off their broadcast properties and acquiring small-circulation papers. The firm's first acquisition was the *Mount Pleasant Times-News* (still a Panax paper, but now called the *Morning Sun*), which at that time had a circulation of 6,000. By 1967 Panax had bought three northern Michigan dailies: the *Iron Mountain News*, the *Escanaba Daily Press*, and the *Marquette Mining Journal*, which have a combined circulation of nearly 40,000. These papers, plus *The Macomb Daily*, which the firm acquired in the early 1970s and which has a circulation of just under 50,000, form the backbone of Panax.

Richard Brown, a former director of editorial services at Panax, recalls that, "The way McGoff built Panax was to use very little money. Most of the deals he made were through stock. He was a real wheeler-dealer. He could charm you out of your shirt." Brown, who now owns his own Michigan weekly, adds, "McGoff is a very ambitious guy. He always wanted to be in the thick of the political arena and to have a big hand in molding political opinion. His greatest hero was Lord Thomson."

In Williamston, where he had settled with his wife and their five children, McGoff plunged into politics in 1971 by running for a seat on the school board. He won it. "The first thing he did once he was elected," recalls Ruth Junck, at the time a reporter for the *Williamston Enterprise*, "was to say that he didn't want any federal funds for hot lunches, because that was federal control. This caused quite a stir. Then, because he had to attend to his 'far-flung empire,' he wanted the school board to meet at six a.m. They did, sometimes at his house, and they didn't tell the press. I reported that and it made him mad." At one point in the controversy, Junck recalls, McGoff started his own paper, *Williamston Today*, to voice his criticisms of local educational policies and administrators. "He pretended it wasn't his," Junck says, "but everyone knew it was." Finally, in 1974, by a margin of more than two-to-one, Williamston voters removed McGoff from the board in a special recall election.

If, locally, he did not seem to be having much success as a molder of public opinion, in South Africa would-be molders of U.S. public opinion apparently believed they had found a valuable ally in Panax president McGoff. His involvement with South Africa appears to date back to 1968, when he met L.E.S. De Villiers, a South African information officer, in Washington. Later that year, at De Villiers' invitation, the publisher made a trip to South Africa. Richard Brown recalls that he returned "quite South Africa-oriented." Through De Villiers, McGoff later became acquainted with Eschel Rhodie, an information officer who in 1972 was appointed secretary of the South African Department of Information. Rhodie was

chosen to be the department's top civil servant under Cornelius Mulder because of his ideas for improving the country's image abroad. In *The Paper Curtain*, published in 1969, Rhodie had argued that the department should conduct an aggressive campaign overseas; it should sidestep racial questions and, instead, emphasize the republic's economic potential and its strategic importance to the Western world.

In 1974, the first year of a Rhodie five-year plan, the department's budget for foreign operations increased from \$6 million to more than \$8 million. The United States was a prime target for this new campaign. A new information office was opened in Los Angeles to augment those already open in Washington and New York, and later others were established in Chicago and Houston. The number of visits by Americans to South Africa sponsored by the department, at a cost of about \$3,000 each, rose from eleven in 1973 to fifty-six in 1974.

Such programs, however, constituted only a small part of the department's activities. In February 1974 (less than a month before his hideaway visit with McGoff), Rhodie met with Prime Minister Vorster and a group of other officials. According to an account Rhodie gave earlier this year to a South African journalist, while in the U.S. he had had discussions with people connected to the CIA regarding the agency's overseas propaganda operations. Now, he told Vorster and his aides, "I want you to approve not an information asset but a propaganda war in which no rules or regulations would count." The plan was approved. A secret fund was established. The war was to cost more than \$70 million over the next few years. While this plan was being put into operation behind the scenes, newly active information officials in the U.S. were emphasizing South Africa's economic potential and strategic importance to Americans.

McGoff, too, spread the word. Former editors of his papers recall that after the publisher became interested in South Africa in the late 1960s, he would sporadically send them stories about the country. Beginning in 1974, however, the flow increased dramatically. One former Panax executive who declines to be named recalls that after one trip to South Africa McGoff wrote a twelve-part series on its strategic importance, which he instructed his editors to use. "The articles were reasonably objective," he recalls. "But my paper was in southeast Chicago and our readers were eighty percent blue-collar steelworkers. Each one of the series was the equivalent of one full page of broadsheet. I ran three of them and then stopped." Later, he says, he learned that this was considered a black mark against him.

David Rood, who was managing editor and then editor at the *Escanaba Daily Press* from 1972 through 1977, says that, starting in 1974, "hardly a week went by that the packet of material we regularly got from headquarters didn't have something in it



The Detroit News

CJR



**The Thesaurus connection:** By 1975, John McGoff (above, left) was living in a style to which he had not been accustomed. He bought a 100-foot yacht (right) and also acquired the use of a Miami Beach house (above). The house was purchased by a company whose sole stockholder was Thesaurus Continental Securities Corporation, a conduit for secret South African government funds.



Charlevoix Courier

about South Africa." Rood, who was fired in 1977 for refusing to run a scurrilous attack on President Carter, specifically recalls receiving a five- or six-part series on the problems of southern Africa. "It was all quite involved and rather pro-South Africa," he says. "The instructions were to run it. I objected, but was told to run it anyway, so I did—on the editorial page."

### The turning point

Nineteen seventy-four, a turning point in the policies of South Africa's Department of Information and in Panax's coverage of South Africa, was also a year in which the little-known publisher began to act like a tycoon. McGoff's behavior was surprising in the light of his own financial position and the Panax bottom line. Panax lost money in 1974; McGoff's salary was only \$67,507, and he owned only about 4 percent (43,126 shares) of the company's stock, then worth approximately \$2 a share. Yet this was the year McGoff made a bid for *The Washington Star*.

The first offer was made in January. On this occasion, a McGoff representative told Godfrey Kauffmann, who represented the families which then owned the *Star*, that Panax was interested in buying the paper. After looking over the company's balance sheet, Kauffmann now recalls, "I called back and said, 'I don't see that you have the financial capability.'" He adds, "It seemed like a case of Jonah swallowing the whale."

McGoff's representative then said that McGoff

himself, not Panax, wanted to buy the paper, and he assured Kauffmann that the publisher had solid backing. Kauffmann agreed to meet with McGoff at the Madison Hotel in Washington on January 25, 1975. According to Kauffmann, the publisher offered between \$20 million and \$25 million for the paper and indicated in subsequent meetings that he was being backed by Alden Dow, Michael's father. "He pretty much said it was Dow," Kauffmann says. "He would blow into town claiming he was interested in providing an alternative point of view in Washington and saying he had access to these funds." Michael Dow, speaking for his elderly father, maintains that the Dow family was never involved. "If he [McGoff] said that, it is not true," asserts Dow, who is still on the Panax board.

McGoff's bid for the *Star* startled some Panax executives. "The company was going through a recession and suddenly here was John trying to buy this big paper," recalls a former executive who prefers to remain anonymous. This led to speculation that the bid was linked in some way to McGoff's friendship with South African officials. "Obviously, John heard the rumors," this former associate says. "One time he told me at a party at his house, 'I have never taken a nickel from anybody outside this country. I am a patriot!'" In the end, the *Star* talks came to nothing. McGoff continued to make overtures through 1975, but, according to Kauffmann, he never made a firm proposal.

The question of where McGoff might have gotten the backing needed to buy the *Star*—ultimately ac-



quired by Time Inc. in February 1978 for \$20 million—was not raised in the U.S. press. When it was raised in South Africa's English-language newspapers, it was in the context of a Watergate-sized scandal that within the past twelve months has forced the resignations of Prime Minister Vorster, Cabinet Minister Mulder, and Rhodie. (Rhodie, who fled the country to escape police investigation, was extradited from France this past summer and charged with fraud and theft of government funds. In October he was sentenced to a six-year prison term—and then promptly released on bail.)

It was Rhodie's extravagant style of living that first attracted press attention in South Africa. From May 1978 on, the country's English-language papers began looking into his seemingly boundlessly wealthy department. Their probing turned up evidence that he and other information department officials were lining their own pockets from the giant fund which Rhodie had set up to finance his secret propaganda war. On November 1, 1978, the *Rand Daily Mail* linked McGoff to this slush fund, reporting that the South African government had secretly funneled millions of dollars to McGoff to finance his purchase of the *Star*. From his headquarters in the U.S., the publisher called the reports "not only utterly false but wantonly crude."

Two judicial investigations into the scandal provided considerable documentation about misuse of government funds both at home and abroad. The first investigation, conducted by Judge Anton Mostert, revealed that Rhodie had secretly spent millions of dollars (more than \$35 million, by a final count) to start and fund a pro-government daily called *The Citizen*.

Mostert was dismissed for "exceeding his brief" by releasing to the press testimony which implicated Vorster and Mulder. A second investigation, headed by Justice Rudolf P. Erasmus, was then set in motion. The Erasmus Commission began releasing its findings in December 1978 and issued a final report this past May.

### Bidding and buying

The commission, whose main concern was uncovering evidence of malfeasance, looked into secret projects abroad, but only selectively and only to the extent that they involved possible mishandling of government funds. It was in this context that the commission revealed that at least \$11,750,000 had been passed to McGoff for the purpose of buying a newspaper and a newsfilm agency. Evidence given in sworn testimony suggested that McGoff was central to the propaganda campaign in the U.S. conceived by the discredited (and subsequently reorganized) Department of Information.

□ *The Washington Star*: According to the Erasmus report, McGoff approached information officer L.E.S. De Villiers in 1974 and "indicated that *The Washington Star* was in financial difficulties and that it could be bought. . . . McGoff told De Villiers he needed

about \$25,000,000 for the transaction. He himself could put up about \$15,000,000 and asked that the RSA [Republic of South Africa] should contribute the other \$10,000,000." According to several officials cited in the report, the money would be provided through the purchase of shares in a new firm McGoff would set up, Star Newspaper Company. It was agreed, the report continues, that the transfer of funds should be carried out through Thesaurus Continental Securities Corporation, a subsidiary of a Swiss bank and, as earlier testimony had established, a front organization for South Africa's Bureau of State Security, or BOSS, the country's secret police organization. Records referred to in the report, which is based on 11,000 pages of still-secret evidence, show that \$10 million was transferred to McGoff for the *Star* project.

In the U.S. there is probably no way short of subpoena power to document whether McGoff received this money. Star Newspaper Company, later renamed Global Communications, is privately held and thus not required to divulge financial information. Public records show, however, that there was a link between McGoff and Thesaurus in another transaction.

**T**he link is the Pine Tree Drive Company. Identified in the Erasmus report simply as a front, Pine Tree was incorporated five years ago in Florida, where records show that its president was Daniel McGoff, the publisher's brother. Florida records also show that in 1975 Pine Tree bought an oceanfront house in Miami Beach for \$192,200. Michigan acquaintances recall that John McGoff regarded the house as his and referred to it as his; Florida records, however, list Thesaurus—the financial front for the South African secret police—as the sole stockholder in Pine Tree.

In 1978 the company was dissolved and the house was sold for \$360,000. No one connected with Pine Tree will discuss any part of the transaction.

□ *The Sacramento Union*: According to the Erasmus report, after McGoff had initiated negotiations for the purchase of *The Washington Star*, he asked the South Africans for permission to use the interest from the \$10 million advanced to him to buy *The Sacramento Union*, a Copley-chain paper that had come on the market. Rhodie agreed, according to the report, only to discover later that McGoff had used not only the interest but virtually all of the principal to meet the purchase price (about \$7 million) and to cover operating costs. The sale of the *Union* was announced in December 1974. Richard Capen, executive vice-president of Copley, says that he saw no need to check into McGoff's finances because the transaction was in cash.

□ UPITN: According to the Erasmus report, in 1975 a total of \$1.7 million in secret funds was advanced to McGoff so that he could buy a 50 percent interest in UPITN from Paramount Pictures; UPI and Independent Television News, a British network, each owned half of the remaining stock. With more than 100 cli-





**Friends in high places:** McGoff (right), Gerald Ford, and former New York Congressman Seymour Halpern at a 1978 Houston seminar on U.S.-South Africa business relations. The seminar was arranged by Halpern's PR firm, Sydney S. Baron & Co., which represents both the government of South Africa and McGoff's Panax Corporation.

ents in eighty countries, UPITN is, after Visnews, the second largest newfilm producer and distributor in the world, and in many third world countries it may be the only source of foreign news. In the U.S. it is relied on for foreign spot coverage in remote areas; its major American client is ABC, which sold its foreign news customers list to UPITN in 1976.

De Villiers testified to the commission that there was no question that McGoff was acting on South Africa's behalf when he bought into UPITN, and he quoted McGoff as having said, "My understanding is that I represent you [South Africa] in that company." Roderick Beaton, president of UPI, however, dismisses any suggestion that McGoff could or did influence news coverage as "pure baloney and libelous."

Last June, McGoff sold his share in UPITN to Independent Television News for an undisclosed sum estimated to be about \$2 million. Hugh Whitcomb, editorial manager of ITN, commented at the time, "The ITN board was unhappy at suggestions that [McGoff's] money could have come from the South African government, as was claimed by the Erasmus Commission, and therefore sought to buy Mr. McGoff's shares." He added that McGoff "was never in a position to dictate editorial policy nor, as far as I know, did he ever try to do so."

Despite Whitcomb's and Beaton's assertions,

McGoff did not lack the power to influence coverage. McGoff himself became co-chairman of the board; Clarence Rhodes, a Panax director and reportedly a member of the pro-South Africa group known as The Club of Ten (he denies this), was installed as UPITN president in London; McGoff nominees constituted one half of the board's members.

### Spreading out

Apart from the ventures described in the Erasmus report, McGoff has privately made a number of other purchases of news organizations, or has attempted to do so. He has also on occasion used Panax for purposes compatible with his personal interest in South Africa.

□ **Illinois, Texas, and California papers:** Beginning in 1974, McGoff bought the weekly *Rantoul* (Illinois) *Press* and a string of Texas weeklies which he later sold to Panax. In California, where he already owned *The Sacramento Union*, McGoff bought several other properties, which he held under the corporate umbrella of the Sierra Publishing Company. Sierra now includes, in addition to the *Union*, one other daily, the Yuba City *Valley Herald*, and more than a dozen weeklies, most of them in suburban Sacramento. In 1977, he made an unsuccessful bid of approximately \$18 million for *The Oakland Tribune*, citing Richard Mellon Scaife as his backer. And in December of that year he sold a 50 percent interest in Sierra to Scaife for an undisclosed sum. A member of the Mellon family, Scaife is the publisher of the Greensburg, Pennsylvania, *Tribune-Review* and a Panax director. One of his ventures, Forum World Features, a London-based news feature agency, was shut down in 1975 as it was being exposed as a CIA front.

□ **Xanap:** Set up as a South African printing subsidiary of Panax in 1974, Xanap was the company's first foreign enterprise. One of its backers was Jan van Zyl Alberts, an old friend of Prime Minister Vorster, with whom he was interned during World War II as a Nazi sympathizer, and a paid front man for the Department of Information. Xanap's first customer was Afri-Comics; chaired by Alberts, it received secret funding from the government. The company produced comic books which featured a black Superman who supported the South African status quo. (Production of the comics was halted in 1976 after newsstands were burned down in Soweto; Xanap was eventually merged with a South African printing firm.)

Alberts served on Panax's board of directors from 1975 to 1978, and he provided the chain with at least one "guest editorial." It supported the severely repressive measures taken by South Africa following the death of Steve Biko, the country's foremost black leader.

□ **The Trib:** In late 1977, while plans were in the works for a new New York City daily to be called *The Trib*, Richard Scaife, who had conditionally agreed to put money into the paper, suggested to publisher Leonard Saffir that he also talk to McGoff. Saffir was

given the same advice by Gerald Zoffer, a self-styled investment broker who also writes a column under the name Matthew Conroy for *Newsworld*, a paper owned by associates of Rev. Sun Myung Moon.

Saffir says Zoffer told him that the South African government wanted a stake in the paper (South African sources confirm this), and that it was prepared to disguise its involvement. He quotes Zoffer as saying, "We have a way—John McGoff. He will make the actual investment." (Zoffer, in rebuttal, calls Saffir's statement "total nonsense.")

The *Trib*'s chief financial officer, Lester Wolser, later met with three Panax officials representing McGoff; they assured him, says Wolser, that McGoff would have "no problem" in coming up with \$5 million to \$10 million. McGoff did not pursue the matter, however, and *The Trib*, which began publishing in January 1978, folded three months later.

□ *Washington Journalism Review*: At about the same time he was backing off from *The Trib*, McGoff was renewing his efforts to break into the Washington market. Roger Kranz, founder and publisher of the *Washington Journalism Review*, says he was told early in 1978, when *WJR* had just begun printing and still lacked long-term financing, that McGoff might want to buy it. At his first meeting with McGoff, Kranz says, the Michigan publisher told him he liked the magazine and believed there was a need for it.

**A**t a subsequent meeting with Panax officials, Kranz was informed that McGoff and Scaife would be buying the magazine jointly through a subsidiary of their Sierra Publishing Company. In early June, Kranz says, the two men made him a formal offer of \$250,000. He held out for more money and eventually, he says, "they soured on the deal." Negotiations were formally ended in the fall of 1978. (At about the same time, Panax bought a small Washington newsletter called *Media Report*, which it sold to its editor for one dollar this year. The chain also was arranging to sell *Washington Weekly*, a Panax supplement, for an undisclosed sum to Rev. Lester Kinsolving, a conservative columnist who has been very sympathetic to South Africa.)

Kranz, who recently found another buyer, says he had no idea at any time during the negotiations that South African money might be involved. "I knew about McGoff's connections with South Africa," he says. "I was concerned about that. I was well aware that if we signed the deal we might have problems with our image. I was banking on my reputation at the time—that people knew I would not be influenced."

#### The bottom line

Between 1974 and 1979, then, McGoff, hitherto a small-time regional publisher, significantly raised his sights and began building his own personal empire. He bid for the *Star*, eyed *The Trib*, and bought *The Sacramento Union* and half of UPITN. At one time or another he acquired weeklies in California, Illinois,

and Texas—where he called his holdings the "Houston Chronicle Group." He acquired the use of a house in Miami Beach, a 100-foot yacht to go with it, and a taste for the national limelight. In 1978 he addressed a national conference of businessmen (ostensibly underwritten by South African corporations but, according to Rhodie, paid for out of the government's slush fund) on the subject of why the U.S. should continue and expand its business ties with South Africa. In 1976 he struck the same note in testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on African Affairs.

He also became a philanthropist. He donated \$300,000 to Northern Michigan University for a lecture series which began last fall. The first speaker, whom McGoff helped to select, was Gerald Ford, who was paid \$10,000 for spending two days at the university. McGoff also gave \$20,000 to a South African magazine called *Encounter*, which was published by the conservative Christian League of Southern Africa and which, according to Rhodie, was secretly funded by the Department of Information.

In those same years, McGoff's Panax salary rose from \$67,507 to \$125,933, and he increased his holdings in Panax until he owned a controlling 40 percent of the stock. Where McGoff got the approximately \$2 million needed for these stock purchases, the bulk of which he made in 1977, is not known.

Panax grew, too. In 1974, it owned about forty papers, most of them in Michigan. The chain now owns

### SatEvePostscript: Beurt and Cory

Like John McGoff, Beurt SerVaas, the sixty-year-old chairman of the Curtis Publishing Company, which publishes *The Saturday Evening Post*, has several curious links to South Africa.

In February 1978, SerVaas became one of a group of investors that supposedly bought *The Citizen*, a stridently pro-government Johannesburg daily, from an Afrikaner businessman named Louis Luyt. SerVaas was quoted in the South African press at the time as saying, "I view this as an opportunity to fill a need in the publishing industry in South Africa." In fact, *The Citizen* was funded by the South African Department of Information.

According to the Erasmus report, SerVaas came into the venture after McGoff had turned down a request by then-Secretary of Information Eschel Rhodie to take over the paper from government front man Luyt. The report says that at the time SerVaas and others "bought" *The Citizen*, "The Department [of Information] undertook to supply the newspaper with funds from the Exchequer for at least two years."

SerVaas also has been identified in the South African press as having served as a director of Afripix, a newsphoto agency which was disbanded early this year after it was revealed to have been a Department of Information front organization.

SerVaas has been linked to the intelligence community. During World War II he served in the OSS, and he has described himself as a close friend over many years of Rich-

six dailies and sixty-one weeklies throughout the country, a few of which, according to recent reports, it is selling off. It manages the papers owned by McGoff's other companies; in recent years, McGoff has apparently bailed himself out of losing situations by selling his weaker papers off to Panax.

Last year, for example, McGoff got \$1.3 million from the chain for his Texas holdings, although the papers were losing money and Panax had to borrow money to finance the transaction. The company's financial position has not improved much since 1974, when it lost money. Last year Panax reported earnings of \$569,529 on revenues of \$36.1 million, but, according to John Morton, a newspaper analyst for John Muir & Company, "The reason it was able to show earnings was that it sold its commercial printing division for nearly one million dollars. If it hadn't done that, Panax would have shown a pretax loss of about two hundred thousand dollars."

In testimony before the Erasmus Commission, De Villiers described McGoff as "an Irish-American who feels intensely and strongly about the things he believes in. And one of the things in which he believed . . . was that the RSA had a role to play together with the USA, and that as a Western power South Africa should be preserved for the USA." This is one side of the man. A former Panax executive who declines to be named offers another view. "He was hob-

nobbing with important people, rich people who had so much more than he had. He was always bragging, trying to impress people," the former executive recalls. "I think he just couldn't stand it any longer."

The two descriptions suggest that South Africa's plan to use the publisher meshed perfectly both with McGoff's political views and with his social ambitions. Yet for all the money it reportedly channeled to McGoff, South Africa appears to have gotten in return little more than a scattering of favorable articles and editorials in a collection of small dailies and weeklies—a meager return on a reported investment of nearly \$12 million. McGoff, meanwhile, was able to put together a private media barony and to rub shoulders with presidents, prime ministers, and big-city publishers. The canny Irish-American, in short, seems to have come out well ahead of the South Africans.

Because McGoff scrambled for grandeur and never quite made it, and because, for all his wheeling and dealing, he still seems more of a Babbitt posturing as a media baron than a Lord Thomson in the rough, there is something drolly amusing about him, as if he were his own caricature. But the question his oddly successful career raises is a serious one: what is to prevent a foreign country from picking up important U.S. media properties and, through them, shaping public opinion to suit its own national interests? The answer—judging by the South African evidence—would seem to be, not much. ■

## lend a hand

ard Helms, former director of the CIA. According to *Spooks*, written by Jim Hougan, a *Harper's* Washington editor, and published last year, during the 1960s SerVaas ran a private investigating firm called International Investigators, Inc. The firm's staff, according to Hougan, included several former FBI agents and at least two persons who went on to work for CIA front organizations. Hougan speculates, on the basis of other information, that the SerVaas firm was one of several set up during the sixties to operate outside of normal intelligence channels.

SerVaas's *Saturday Evening Post*—which his wife, Cory SerVaas, edits—has been a loyal supporter of South Africa and its friends. Last year, the *Post* treated its readers to a strong dose of pro-South African and pro-Rhodesian prose. The January/February 1978 issue carried a two-page, unsigned editorial entitled "America's Irresponsible Policy Toward South Africa." The piece began by arguing that the U.S. should not have supported a United Nations resolution calling for an arms embargo against South Africa and went on to criticize Vice-President Mondale for urging that country's leaders to adopt America's one-man, one-vote model. Why do we do such things? the editorial asked, and replied: "The real answer seems to be that . . . the American black community, an important part of Carter's electorate, is being paid off cheaply in Africa because there is no money to pay them off at home. In addition, the Carter team is buying goodwill with left-wing elements in the American press and in the Third World."

In the May/June *Post*, the SerVaases devoted five pages of their magazine to "An Open Letter to the American People" by Ian Smith, then prime minister of Rhodesia. The blurb to this piece was a burble: "When *Post* editors visited Rhodesia, so moved were they by the brave stand of the Rhodesians and their courageous leader that they invited Prime Minister Ian Smith to tell the Rhodesian story in his own words. We promised not to edit."

The prose of the captions was rapturous. The caption accompanying the first picture read:

SatEvePost editors Beurt and Cory SerVaas met with Prime Minister Ian Smith . . . in Rhodesia as he prepared to sign an historic agreement with the black moderate leaders of Rhodesia. Mr. Smith, a World War II fighter pilot who crashed behind Italian lines and fought with partisan forces until his escape, is cast in the image of our own revolutionary heroes of 1776. While fighting the British on one hand, he is beset on the other by black terrorists, punitive worldwide economic sanctions, and an amazingly self-righteous U.S. government policy.

Smith's piece was accompanied by a three-page paean to the Rhodesian people, black and white, entitled, "A Worthwhile Cause." It was written by Otto von Habsburg. Von Habsburg, an Austrian conservative, was one of SerVaas's associates who, in 1977, "bought" *The Citizen*.

*The Saturday Evening Post*, which the SerVaases resuscitated in 1971, has only one foreign office—in Cape Town.

K.R.





*Rosie the Riveter: the sex change didn't hurt her*

## The importance of being Rockwell

Last month, Milton Glaser, the designer of New York, Esquire, More, and The Nation, sat down with the Review to talk about Norman Rockwell. The occasion was the publication of *Norman Rockwell: 332 Magazine Covers*, by Christopher Finch (Abbeville Press/Random House). Glaser talks about the evolution of a mythmaker—and why magazine covers aren't what they used to be.

CJR: *What is a magazine cover supposed to do?*

GLASER: It has to capture the attention of the passing reader by creating a tension between clarity and novelty. The image must be familiar enough to be understandable and unusual enough to provoke interest. The second function, of course, is to inform the reader of what is in the magazine. But Rockwell's approach was different. In his *Saturday Evening Post* covers, for example, he created a kind of symbolic equivalent for the magazine's attitude and view of life.

CJR: *How would you describe that view?*

GLASER: I would say that Rockwell created and synthesized and epitomized America's mythological view of itself as being a benign and generous country ennobled by work. And the interesting thing about this is that his affections really seem to have been for the blue-collar position. Whenever you see a funny, satiric statement, it's almost invariably at the expense of the middle class or, occasionally, the rich. It's the working class looking at the foibles of the middle class. He really understood his audience and at the *Post*—and this is primarily a collection of his work at the *Post*—he probably had an essentially blue-collar audience.

CJR: *How did he attract this audience over the years?*

GLASER: Oh, he had an absolutely remarkable development. He's a very, very extraordinary figure in America. He started out as a pedestrian illustrator. The early work is very much without character, in fact. But he had one important asset from the very start—a good sense of the cliché. Clichés are important in communication. What you're doing all the time is trying to reinvest them with their original potency or to exploit them in some way so that they reengage the audience. And Rockwell had this extraordinary sense of how to use clichés and twist them or add slightly to them. The whole book is full of essentially clichéd images.

CJR: *How did Rockwell reinvest his clichés? How did he manage to give*



them new meaning visually?

GLASER: He didn't often do this in his early work. His early work is full of sort of cute, observed situations, like a kid looking at himself in a fun-house mirror, where the joke is the distortion. Or two lovers sitting on a bench and the kid brother, who's under the bench listening to them, sneezes. Here he's essentially repeating clichés, but doing so in a charming and engaging way. The old man trying to thread a needle with his tongue in his cheek is another example. The details make it interesting: the man's posture, the cat rubbing against his feet, the sense of his being a bachelor and unfamiliar with the process of threading a needle.

Then, in the thirties, he made a dramatic step forward in terms of his ability to deal with more complex formal issues such as the number of figures and elements on the page. In the early works he had used what was essentially a white field—a good principle when you're doing a cover, because you try to get a vigorous silhouette, an edge, a shape so that you can focus on something kind of poster-like. In the thirties, as his work developed, he became increasingly able to deal with the whole surface, with nothing silhouetted.

CJR: What was he doing with clichés in the thirties?

GLASER: The interesting thing about Rockwell is that he would have made a wonderful surrealist. In fact you could even call him America's greatest surrealist because of his ability to really create a kind of deadpan naturalism. There's this so-called double-take, for instance, where a girl is reading a magazine—a copy of the *Saturday Evening Post*—and her head is replaced by the image on the cover. It's almost surrealist.

He could also take a conventional situation and invest it with his typical social content. I mean, the flirts in this case—the two truck drivers—are obviously much more sympathetic than the fancy girl with the car. One could take the view that these guys are creeps, but Rockwell doesn't. He says these are just jovial,



nice, fleshy, warm-hearted boys and the girl is just sort of a mean-spirited bitch.

CJR: When did American myths start to play a central part in his work?

GLASER: During the Second World War, of course, he really blossomed as the creator of the idealized America we were all fighting for, and he created this character, Willie Gillis, whom he used as a kind of metaphor for that vision of America, with homecomings and guys on leave, peeling potatoes and listening to the war news. He really rose to the occasion and blossomed as a master of these powerful, mythological images that really—like all myths—give us the strength to go on.

CJR: Do you think he invented these images or drew them up out of some shared mythological source?

GLASER: It's hard to tell. In some cases I think he invented the imagery; in others he simply responded to an audience's desire for certain images. In any case, he often tapped into people's deepest longings.

CJR: Isn't a country odd where some of the strongest myths appear on magazine covers?

GLASER: It's not so odd, considering that this country has had the most magazines and virtually invented magazines as a form of communication. If, in the past, mythological imagery appeared in plays and novels and so on, there's no reason why it should not be portrayed on magazine covers. Take Rosie the Riveter, for example. She's based on a figure on the Sistine Chapel ceiling by Michelangelo—a figure of a man. The sex change has not seemed to hurt her.

CJR: Her arms are very masculine.

GLASER: They are a man's arms, because that's what they're based on. That's the intention, to create a kind of heroic woman, back at home, working for America. It was no accident that he used a figure from Michelangelo.

CJR: Which figure is it?

GLASER: The prophet Isaiah. All Rockwell's imagery of that period either dealt with the nostalgia and yearnings of the time or with myths that gave people the strength needed

to win the war. He was absolutely spectacular. It's hard to imagine that period without Rockwell.

CJR: *Is it possible to have mythological covers today, when covers are more closely tied to the contents of a magazine?*

GLASER: You're just dealing with different kinds of myths. There are very few people who believe Rockwell's vision of America anymore, so that you're somewhere else in terms of the kind of myths you deal with. But all powerful covers have that aspect.

CJR: *Do you see yourself as a myth-maker, too?*

GLASER: Occasionally, when I touch on something that establishes a resonance with the viewer. The best covers do that. They really create imagery that has that special engaging, shared experience that makes the readers want to find out more than mere information. They want to share the experience of shared vantage point.

When we did *New York* magazine, we had exactly the same problem that Rockwell had, which is how you communicate to your audience that they are a part of your ethic. What is it that you do to tell somebody that we are tribally united, that we share common interests—which is what Rockwell was a ge-

nius at doing. These images convinced his audience that the magazine itself was their magazine.

CJR: *What magazines would you say are successful in doing this today?*

GLASER: Not a single one that I know of in the United States.

CJR: *By saying that, are you also saying that magazine covers have lost the ability to create and perpetuate myth?*

GLASER: No, we just don't have illustrators who have Rockwell's unique combination of narrative gift, instinct for myths, and technical skills. You just don't get that very often in one guy. Usually, today, work that is done to communicate information, like a magazine cover, is not very satisfying when removed from that context. Off the newsstand and without words, it really doesn't quite work for us. Rockwell's intention was never to reflect the specific contents of a magazine, but to create images that would, in themselves, create a certain mood or spirit. Because of that, it's almost irrelevant what the words said. The point was always to find an image that would powerfully express his view and that of his audience: the tribal view.

Nowadays, television does that, while the function of a magazine

cover is more to inform, to attract, but very much bound to the specific content of each issue. The *Post* was read and was really a discretionary choice. I remember getting the magazine as a little boy, and I used to take the magazine home for an evening's reading, over a span of several days. I would read it from cover to cover. People don't do that any more.

**N**ow the only thing magazines have to offer is the imperative of their information: you *must* read this, not to enhance your leisure hours, but because this is important, you *have* to know it, it will be good for you. To some extent, that's why there's no reason for anybody like Rockwell to occur again.

CJR: *So this is the end of illustration?*

GLASER: In terms of its significance as a social device, yes. Now it's used either to inform, as I've said, or to entertain, or to capture someone's attention, but it doesn't have the profound significance that Rockwell's work had.

In the old days people would browse a newsstand for fifteen minutes; now it's a thirty-second glance. So there's really a difference in the amount of time people are willing to commit to deciding which magazine to buy—and then to reading it. Everything's speeded up dramatically. My own view is that if you don't provoke somebody's interest within a second or a second and a half—provoke the person to at least take a closer look—you've lost the game, because of the hundred other choices he has in front of him.

As a result, the images we see on covers these days are, generally speaking, reduced to the most simplistic and obvious kinds. They're not at all discursive. They get straight to the point, make it once, and then out.

CJR: *So they're not anecdotal; they're iconic.*

GLASER: Exactly. They're the new way of trying to create images and myths, but along more limited class or social lines. Because the tribal feeling Rockwell could draw on has pretty much vanished. ■

■ **The point was always to find an image that would express Rockwell's view and that of his audience: the tribal view** ■



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# Inside the wires' banana republics

At the AP and UPI,  
pride and prejudice  
warp the  
Spanish-language news.  
(Could Berlitz  
do a better job?)

by MICHAEL MASSING

**O**n March 17, 1978, in the first shock of the Aldo Moro kidnapping, the Rome bureau of United Press International sent the following dispatch to UPI's world desk in New York:

ROME (UPI)—Armed police searched thousands of Rome homes Friday for the kidnapers of senior statesman and presidential hopeful Aldo Moro, breaking in doors when no one answered doorbells. The ruling party said the secret service of an unnamed power may have staged the abduction to destroy freedom in Italy.

Following standard practice, the cable was also printed out at UPI's Latin American desk in New York, which renders cables into Spanish for transmission to subscribers throughout Latin America and the U.S. On this particular Friday, the desk translated the description of the police action filed from Italy, but then went on to add something of its own to the Spanish-language copy:

The secret service of a foreign power was behind the abduction in order to procure the destruction of democracy in Italy in the same way that Argentina was enveloped in a wave of terroristic violence.

A story about Western Europe, at the hands of the New York desk, had become a Latin American political parable.

*Michael Massing is the executive editor of this magazine.*

Journalists familiar with the Spanish-language desks at both the AP and UPI report that such editorializing is not unusual. "Many news decisions that take place on the Latin American desk are marked by political bias," says one UPI staff member. "And that bias is always in favor of the status quo." Others complain that the desk's general editorial and professional standards are among the lowest in the agency.

Those familiar with the AP's Spanish-language service rank it no higher. One former editor on the desk puts it this way: "The desk's main concern is not having any problems with Latin American embassies and governments—especially those of dictatorships."

Each year, for instance, the desk sends out a glowing account of the Argentine consulate's annual pilgrimage to José de San Martín's statue in New York's Central Park, where officials place flowers to mark the birthday of that national hero. But when Argentine dissidents in the same city were recently harassed by an agent allegedly hired by the Argentine embassy, that story went unreported.

**A**lthough most American journalists are not even aware of their existence, the Spanish-language services are the major source of international news for Hispanic media in the Western Hemisphere. Only a handful of newspapers in Latin America can afford to have foreign correspondents, and those that do rarely have more than two or three. As a result, editors depend on the wire services not only for news of the U.S. and Europe, but also for reports on other nations in Latin America. Their central role there and throughout the third world has been underlined during the UNESCO debate on a New World Information Order, during

which the wires have been criticized for their superficial and biased coverage of the developing world.

Closer to home, the AP and UPI Spanish wires are a major news source for the burgeoning Hispanic population in the U.S. New York's *El Diario*, for instance, with a circulation of 90,000 the largest Spanish-language newspaper in the U.S., depends heavily on the wires for its Latin American news. And, unlike the black radio stations, which have established their own news service, the seventy or so Spanish-language radio stations in this country rely almost exclusively on the two established services.

In spite of their central role as news suppliers, both Latin American desks are regarded as journalistic Albanias at their respective agencies. Working in a foreign language and staffed exclusively by people of Latin American origin, the desks have been virtually ignored by news executives and largely left to their own devices. "Since it's in Spanish, our executive editor can't look at the Latin American wire and say, 'What's this?'" says George Krinsky, the AP's deputy news editor. "They've been able to run their own show." As a result, say critics, the canons of objective reporting, on which both the AP and UPI pride themselves, are becoming a dead letter at the desks.

## UPI's Argentine mafia

UPI likes to consider itself the General Motors of Latin American news services, and its huge subscriber list, with more than 500 newspapers and radio and TV stations (compared with about 300 for the AP), lends some credence to the claim. UPI's presence in the region began in earnest in 1918, when it signed a contract with the mighty daily *La Prensa* of Buenos Aires, thus breaking the monopoly on wire service news

in Latin America held by the French agency Havas. UPI now has twelve major bureaus there, manned by seventeen English-language correspondents and thirty-four Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking staff.

In fact, the Chester service, as the Spanish wire has been known since the 1930s, is one of the few profitable divisions of the UPI operation. In 1978 it produced 13.3 percent of UPI's \$80 million in revenues while incurring only 9 percent of its expenses—a balance that compares more than favorably with the overall performance of the company, which lost \$2.5 million last year and has not made a profit since 1961. (Faced with an uncertain financial future, UPI's major stockholder, the E.W. Scripps family, announced plans in September to sell off 90 percent of the company to American publishers and broadcasters.)

**T**he seventeen-member Chester desk operates out of UPI's headquarters on the twelfth floor of the New York *Daily News* building in midtown Manhattan, where it occupies a corner of the agency's sprawling, worn newsroom. A shift editor sits at one of the desk's six VDTs, both assigning staff members to report New York stories with a strong Hispanic angle and reviewing the stories being filed from UPI bureaus in such cities as Mexico City, Bogotá, Caracas, Lima, Rio, São Paulo, Buenos Aires, Santiago, and San Juan. When he spots a sufficiently newsworthy item, the editor hands the copy to one of eight or ten people working the desk, the number varying with the time of day. Once the story is translated and edited, the shift editor gives it a read and then sends it out to UPI subscribers throughout the hemisphere. All too often, however, the story going out in Spanish is not the one that, only hours earlier, had arrived in English.

Last November 9, UPI's Madrid bureau wired a report in English on a meeting of the World Committee in Solidarity with Chile, an organization composed of prominent Chileans and Spaniards opposed to the Pinochet government. The lead not-

ed the opening of the conference and cited the attendance of Spanish politicians from the left and center, including delegates from the Spanish government. The story went on to report that the Spanish government itself, which had originally supported the meeting, had withdrawn its sponsorship at the last moment because of what it considered the conference's leftward tilt.

The Latin American desk editor in New York decided to distribute the story, but only after he had changed the lead—and the story's political tone. The new lead emphasized that the gathering had been denounced by the Spanish government for being dominated by the left. In addition, the editor, Enrique Durand, who supervises the desk, axed several paragraphs quoting speeches given by Spanish politicians who attacked the Pinochet regime. Faced with the altered piece, the staff member to whom it had originally been assigned protested vehemently. Durand responded by simply killing the story, which had run on the wire for several hours, and subscribers heard nothing more about the anti-Pinochet sentiments of the Madrid meeting.

The composition of the Latin American desk is largely responsible for the distorted mirror the Chester wire holds up to events. Of the desk's seventeen staff members, eight are Argentines, mostly middle-aged and politically conservative, who together constitute what one person on the desk likes to call a mafia. The godfather of this family is desk supervisor Durand, who, according to one of his coworkers, "runs the Latin American desk like Stroessner runs Paraguay"—with an iron fist. Durand, who came to New York in 1968 after working for years with UPI in Buenos Aires, is said to provide his compatriots with choice assignments, desirable work hours, and other favors. Those who question his decisions are likely to find themselves working the graveyard shift. "There is almost no reporting on the desk, but of the stories assigned, all the plums go to Argentines," says a staff member who has worked on the desk for the last

six years. His protests, he says, have only earned him weekend assignments. Many other desk employees live in this country on special visas that enable them to remain here only while they work for UPI, and they are not inclined to complain.

The stories sent out over the wire reflect the heavy Argentine presence on the desk, as did the Aldo Moro cable cited earlier. "Durand has an obsession with Argentine news," observes one Chester worker. "He doesn't care about the rest of the world." An in-house study of the Chester wire conducted in November 1978 revealed that a full 17 percent of all Latin American stories were datelined Argentina, though that country was but one of twenty-two reported on in the survey period.

Although it is supposed to do original reporting, and although it is based in a city with a large and diverse Hispanic population, UPI's Spanish-language service rarely does anything more than follow up on press releases. "We never write anything on Hispanic politics in New York," says one staff member who, in several years on the desk, has been assigned to cover no more than a handful of stories. "No one ever receives a byline. We just translate. Berlitz could probably do a better job."

**D**urand, speaking in a small conference room at UPI headquarters between energetic puffs on a cigarette, says that his staff covers "special events that concern Latin America, especially high officials and prominent figures who come to New York." By way of example he mentions Argentina's Economic Minister José Martínez de Hoz, who passed through the city last fall. Asked if the desk covers opposition figures as well, Durand mentions a story in early September on lawyer Leonel Brizzola, a Brazilian exile living in New York who was recently allowed to return home—a major Latin American development that was headlined throughout the Americas. Other than that, he says, "It's been very quiet lately." In fact, New York's active exile community, and the visi-

tors it receives, go virtually unreported at UPI. The same bias extends to Washington, where UPI correspondent Adolfo Merino, a Cuban exile, is not known for keeping his political views out of his reporting. Says Larry Birns, director of the Council on Hemispheric Affairs, a Washington-based human rights group, "Merino will consistently go to hear some obscure retired general talking about the Red Menace in Latin America, but he'll never cover stories that involve dissident politicians or groups critical of dictatorship."

Claude Hippeau, who as vice president for UPI international is chief of Latin American coverage, says he is familiar with some of the Chester wire's problems. "Argentina has gotten undue coverage," says Hippeau, a Frenchman who has worked for the agency in Argentina, among many other countries. He says he has tried to ease the hold of the Argentines on the desk by appointing Herman Beals, a Chilean, as second-in-command to Durand. Hippeau adds, however, "I don't know whether my instructions and directives have been followed." Several staff members, in fact, report that Beals has little authority, since when Durand is absent he leaves a member of his Argentine circle, Abel Dimant, in charge.

#### The AP: cocktails and cosmetics

The AP's Latin American wire resembles its UPI counterpart in many respects, including, unfortunately, its shortcomings. The AP maintains a similar number of bureaus (eight) and correspondents (sixteen) and also depends on a wide network of stringers. And like the Chester wire, La Prensa Asociada (LPA), as the AP's Spanish service is known, operates out of the agency's world service newsroom in New York.

Despite its physical integration with the AP's world desk, LPA has largely escaped close editorial scrutiny. For four years prior to last spring, in fact, the service was not even subject to the direct supervision of a news executive. As is the case at UPI, an Argentine contingent of



*Adding their accent to the news: UPI Chester desk supervisor Enrique Durand (center), an Argentine, and his new Chilean deputy, Herman Beals (standing, right)*

nine dominates the other six members of the staff, and, as at UPI, that country is given most-favored-nation status on the Spanish wire. "Because of the heavy Argentine representation on the LPA desk, one has to say there's been heavy emphasis on Argentine news," says George Krinsky, who, as the AP's recently appointed deputy news editor, now has jurisdiction over the desk's operations. There is another similarity with UPI: "LPA has largely become a conversion service," Krinsky notes. "Their work consists of translation eighty-five to ninety percent of the time."

LPA desk supervisor Alberto Quevedo, who began to work with the agency more than thirty-five years ago in Buenos Aires and has been on the desk since 1957, bristles at this suggestion: "We are not a translation service. People change the copy, giving the Latin American approach." But a close look reveals that most changes are purely cosmetic—the shift of a paragraph here, the addition of an explanatory phrase there.

The desk's reporting, which consists of little more than transcribing press releases, attending news conferences, and tracking visiting officials, is equally undistinguished.

"I pushed very hard to do stories when I first joined AP," says a former desk employee. "I was successful in the first few months, but then they stopped me. Assignments in New York are for going to the U.N., to embassies, to cocktail parties. It all depends on the calls Quevedo receives." The desk, he maintains, too often cooperates with Latin American embassies in determining what goes out over the wire. As an example, he mentions a May 3 story he wrote summarizing a confidential Chase Manhattan Bank report on the state of the Chilean economy. The article, which was balanced by all normal journalistic standards, noted, on the one hand, Chase's claim that the Chilean economy was "gaining momentum" and, on the other, the bank's warning that the country's balance of payments position had deteriorated. Unhappy with the story, the Chilean Development



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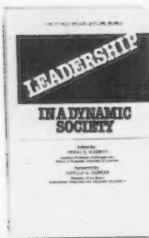
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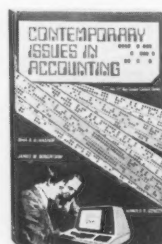
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Corporation, a government agency with a branch in New York, phoned Quevedo to register its dissatisfaction and prevailed on him to send out a follow-up cable the next day. The Spanish cable began:

NEW YORK (AP)—The New York office of the Chilean Development Corp. (CORFO) asked the Associated Press today to distribute the complete transcript of the following Chase Manhattan Bank study, entitled "The Chilean Economy Is Gaining Momentum."

The Chase report followed verbatim.

Krimsky says the AP's world desk has undertaken a "new and ongoing examination" of LPA's performance, adding, however, that "we can't say we've scored any great successes." To date, he says, changes have been primarily stylistic and stories are now tighter and better written. Krimsky agrees that the desk's original reporting has been weak, but attributes the failure to the small size of the staff. "As far as coverage of New York and the U.S. Hispanic community is concerned, no, we don't do it," he says. "Whatever is covered is due to the enterprise of our staffers, who do it in their off-hours. At present the only way we can cover events is by phone and press release." This is a perception, of course, that may itself be part of the problem. As one former desk worker notes, "If you give people rubbish to translate all the time, of course they won't have time to do anything else."

#### A day at random

Judging by the 150 to 200 stories each wire transmits on an average day, third world complaints about wire service coverage appear to be more than rhetoric. Throughout the UNESCO debates, the Western news services have been chastised for emphasizing sensationalism to the detriment of news on unfolding economic and social events. UPI's survey of its Chester wire reveals that some 20 percent of all items transmitted report on political violence and warfare. Another 40-50 percent report fast-breaking political events. Economic news receives only 5-10 percent of all coverage; features are even more scarce.

On September 11, a typical news day selected at random, the logs of the two services reveal an overweening fondness for fast-breaking stories. Both services were jammed with conventional wire service fare—a drug bust in Colombia, a speech by Augusto Pinochet on the sixth anniversary of his coup against Allende, the activities of the Human Rights Commission in Buenos Aires—although, on a comparative basis, the AP's correspondents clearly ranged more broadly across the Latin American landscape.

**A**s significant as what went out on September 11, however, is what didn't. Based on UPI's and the AP's domestic coverage, one would be unlikely to realize that the U.S. is home to some eighteen million Hispanics. At UPI, in fact, the Chester desk did not originate a single story on New York's diverse Spanish-speaking community. The AP's domestic coverage was not much better. From New York, LPA sent out an excerpt of a *New York Times* editorial on the conference of nonaligned nations in Havana, a blurb on a Mexican film series to be screened locally, and a report on Amnesty International's new campaign against human rights violations in Guatemala. LPA's Washington correspondent also filed a trio of stories reporting, as usual, only on official developments of interest to Latin America.

As for stories developing in other important Hispanic centers around the U.S., the philosophy at both services seems to be catch-as-catch-can. "There are ten million Mexicans in the U.S., but we give them very little space on the wire," says a UPI desk man. "And those stories that are filed are biased or incorrect or incomplete, because they just give the American view." According to Ralph Costantino, station manager for WJIT Radio in New York, a Spanish-language outlet which depends heavily on the wire services, "AP and UPI are not equipped to report on the Hispanic community in the U.S. I simply don't know what's going on in Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and the Southwest, where there are millions of Hispanics."

The wire services themselves are

aware of the growing news appetite among Hispanics in the U.S. "My feeling is that there will be a tremendous growth of Spanish-language media in the U.S.," says Stan Swinton, vice president of the AP and director of its world services. "We now should prepare ourselves for requests for more service here." But unless the agency moves fast—and it currently shows no signs of doing so—it could be outstripped by events. The Spanish International Network, which already connects ten Spanish-language TV stations in the U.S., is laying the groundwork for a radio network that would supply news actualities to Hispanic stations in all major markets.

In Latin America, too, challenges are being mounted to the customary dominance of UPI and the AP. There is new competition from such beefed-up European services as Agence France-Presse, Spain's EFE, and Reuters-LATIN. "Newspapers are coming to prefer agencies they see as more moderate, like EFE or Reuters, which will give more balanced coverage to such matters as strikes in Colombia or the peasant movement in Peru," says Raymundo Riva-Palacio, Washington correspondent for the left-leaning *Uno Mas Uno* of Mexico City. "AP and UPI are both seen as being to the right ideologically. In Mexico they are viewed as more pro-government than the others. They seem to depend a lot on the U.S. Embassy as a news source." As that view has spread among many Latin American countries, partly as a result of the UNESCO meetings, support among editors and government officials is growing for locally controlled national news services to serve as a counterweight to the Western agencies.

As far as the AP and UPI are concerned, the New World Information Order should begin at home. It would not take a massive investment to equip bureaus in key cities like Los Angeles, Chicago, and Miami with more reporters whose duties would include coverage of the Hispanic population. And it would require even fewer resources to restructure the Latin American desks so that they might meet the standards for professional and nonpolitical reporting long professed by wire service journalism. ■

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# INTERLOCKING DIRECTORATES

**Most of the 290 directors of the 25 largest newspaper companies are tied to institutions the papers cover. Is this good for the press?**

by PETER DREIER and STEVE WEINBERG

"Journalists and their employers should conduct their personal lives in a manner which protects them from conflict of interest, real or apparent," reads the code of ethics of the Society of Professional Journalists, Sigma Delta Chi. "Their responsibilities to the public are paramount."

Adopted in 1973, this standard has by now achieved near universal acceptance for reporters. Many newspapers, in fact, no longer leave conduct to personal discretion; they enforce the standard by insisting that reporters develop no ties to outside organizations. Deeply committed to the tradition of impartiality, most of them do not have to be told; they tend to avoid potentially conflicting commitments on their own. When the Newspaper Guild executive board endorsed George McGovern for president in 1972, some of the rank and file rebelled, fearing the endorsement would compromise the credibility of their reporting. Readers, apparently, share this concern. When the *Los Angeles Times* polled Californians last year, it discovered that 56 percent of those asked would "distrust articles written by reporters or editors who were active members of an organization they were doing a story on."

But there is a double standard at work in the profession: what is forbidden for reporters is sometimes possible for editors, often permissible for publishers, and actually encouraged among members of newspaper-company boards of directors.

Conflict of interest among this last group, the direc-

tors, is not yet widely perceived as a problem—either by the directors themselves, their publishers, or even by editors and reporters. This is so despite the fact that a year-long study of nearly 300 directors of the nation's twenty-five largest newspaper companies shows thousands of interlocks with institutions the papers cover—or fail to cover—every day. (Detailed information on all of these ties will be found beginning on page 54.) The directors of these companies, whose dailies account for more than half the circulation of all American newspapers, sit on the boards of regional, national, and multinational business corporations. Many are partners or directors of banks, insurance companies, and corporate law firms. Most serve on the boards of chambers of commerce, hospitals, universities, charities, and foundations. And some have held high federal office, or have served in state or local government. Overall, the directors are linked with powerful business organizations, not with public interest groups; with management, not labor; with well-established think tanks and charities, not their grass-roots counterparts.

The directors are overwhelmingly white and male, and drawn from among the most privileged members of society. At the beginning of this year, there were no blacks and only fifteen women among them, and the few women (one of them black) added since then have been drawn from the same social strata as their colleagues. Most of the outside directors (whose only tie to the company is through their board membership) have no newspaper experience. As a group, the inside directors (who not only sit on the board but work for the company or its law firm or who have other strong ties) are drawn from the publishing, rather than from the editorial, side of the newspaper. A closer look at the patterns of the interlocks reveals the following:

□ Newspapers are closely tied to the largest American corporations. The Times Mirror Company, publisher of the *Los Angeles Times* and *Newsday*, has more

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*Peter Dreier is an assistant professor of sociology at Tufts University and a former newspaper reporter. Steve Weinberg, who reported on business for The Des Moines Register, directs the University of Missouri School of Journalism Graduate Reporting Program in Washington, D.C. The Fund for Investigative Journalism provided financial assistance for this article. Shelly Sandberg and Tom Stern were researchers on the project.*



than two dozen interlocks with *Fortune* 1,300 companies (the 1,000 largest industrials and fifty each of the largest banks, insurers, financial companies, utilities, retailers, and transportation companies). Dow Jones, publisher of *The Wall Street Journal*, also has about two dozen interlocks with the nation's largest firms. So do Field Enterprises, publisher of the *Chicago Sun-Times*, and The New York Times Company. Together, the twenty-five largest newspaper companies have well over 200 direct interlocks with the *Fortune* 1,300, and there are untold indirect interlocks. (In a direct interlock, two institutions share a director. Knight-Ridder, for example, is directly interlocked with General Public Utilities, the owner of the Three Mile Island nuclear plant, because Barbara Barnes Hauptfuhrer sits on the boards of both companies. An indirect interlock occurs when two institutions have a director on the board of a third).

□ The newspaper companies are heavily interlocked with particular newsworthy sectors of the economy. There are thirty-eight direct interlocks with the fifty largest banks and forty-five additional interlocks with other banking firms.

□ Certain institutions have particularly intimate ties to the newspaper industry. The Ford Motor Company—which has a pervasive impact on American society through its products, its annual sales of \$43 billion, and its work force of half a million—shares directors with the corporations that publish *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and the *Los Angeles Times*.

□ The interlocks extend beyond the corporate sector. The newspaper companies have more than 100 direct ties with universities and almost every one of the newspaper companies has directors on the boards of the local United Way or Chamber of Commerce. There are also dozens of interlocks with such influential groups as the Council on Foreign Relations, Committee for Economic Development, Business Roundtable, Urban Institute, and Brookings Institution.

### Good for business

The apparent indifference to the risks in such interlocks is all the more striking because observers of other industries have been studying the practice and warning about it for decades. One study in this long series of inquiries was completed just last year by a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs. After analyzing the boards of 130 of the nation's largest corporations and finding 530 direct and 12,193 indirect ties, the subcommittee called for congressional action and concluded: "These patterns of director interrelationships imply an overwhelming potential for antitrust abuse and possible conflicts of interest which could . . . impact on the shape and direction of the American economy."

Interlocking directorships serve useful purposes, newspaper-company executives reply. For one thing, they cement ties with other institutions important to a newspaper's corporate future. The Gannett Company

provides a good example of how this works. Allen Neuharth, Gannett chairman, is a director of Marine Midland Bank, part of a consortium that in 1976 agreed to lend Gannett up to \$60 million and which has also advanced \$25 million on its own. Newspaper companies are dependent on such financial institutions for capital, especially for expansion, and thus it makes sense, Neuharth says, for Gannett executive Douglas McCorkindale to serve on the board of Lincoln First Banks Inc., which, like Gannett, is headquartered in Rochester and which owns the building housing the chain's corporate offices. He says it makes sense, too, for Gannett to have Wilmot Craig as an outside director. Craig is the retired chairman of Lincoln First, whose Rochester bank has lent \$4 million to Gannett and is part of the \$60 million consortium.

Interlocks also bring valuable management and government experience to the newspaper companies. Such expertise can help them make money; it can also assist in relations with government. Until earlier this year, William Rogers, the former U.S. attorney general and secretary of state, was a Gannett director. "Bill Rogers is in a position to make major contributions to Gannett in its dealings with the government," Neuharth said then. "On antitrust matters, with the FCC, whatever. He's been on the inside and can help top management understand what can be done and what can't be done." Other former government officials on newspaper-company boards include: Nicholas DeB. Katzenbach, former attorney general, at The Washington Post Company; William Scranton, once U.S. ambassador to the U.N. and governor of Pennsylvania, at The New York Times Company; and Clark Clifford, once secretary of defense, at Knight-Ridder.

Such outside directors play no role in the newsroom, newspaper-company executives say, adding that the traditional antitrust concerns of those opposed to interlocks do not apply to newspapering. Should a director attempt to interfere, they add, editors and reporters would object. Many business leaders go further and complain that, far from being influenced by well-connected directors, the press is hostile to the business community.

Not surprisingly, most newspaper companies have no plans to limit interlocks. Executives note that, to the contrary, newer directors seem to be more tied to major institutions than ever before. As private newspaper companies go public, and as the public companies increase in size, managements want boards that will impress each other, government, and the financial community. Directors like Knight-Ridder's Clifford and Dow Jones's J. Paul Austin—chairman of Coca-Cola and friend of Jimmy Carter—fit the bill.

### Trouble at the top

Newspapers have regularly reported the sweeping indictments of interlocks in other industries. But they haven't taken the lesson to heart, even though they



have special reason to do so. For despite the financial benefits that accrue to newspaper companies with bankers and former government officials on their boards, the fact remains that such ties may have adverse journalistic consequences. Some of these may be subtle—unconscious self-censorship, for example. In other cases the consequences have been manifest—reporters pressured, stories unassigned, or killed when written. The concern with interlocks, therefore, reaches beyond traditional worries about antitrust. The concern centers on the flow of information and the vitality of journalism as something absolutely disinterested and relentlessly independent.

Among the newspaper-company directors who have been interviewed for this study, Otis Chandler, a director of The Times Mirror Company and publisher of the *Los Angeles Times*, expresses the greatest concern about interlocks. His concern is easy to understand: one of his ties got him into trouble, and apparently affected *Times* coverage early in the decade.

The story has been told before, but it is worth repeating. In the late 1960s, Chandler joined the board of GeoTek Resources Fund, Inc., founded by his friend Jack Burke to sell partnerships in oil well-drilling ventures. Chandler talked up the company to Times Mirror executives, political figures, and Hollywood personalities, convincing another Times Mirror director to serve on the board and attracting such investors as Evelle Younger, soon to be California's attorney general. But all was not well at GeoTek. By 1971 the Securities and Exchange Commission was checking into the company and by early 1972 Chandler requested that Burke resign and filed a lawsuit against him. It was a good story, but the *Times* didn't write it.

Eventually, *The Wall Street Journal* did: on August 11, 1972, a front-page story featured Chandler's role in the GeoTek developments. The *Times*, under pressure, ran a story the next day, largely based on an interview that financial editor Robert Wood conduct-

ed with the publisher, but buried it on page eight of an inside section. Wood doesn't recall even hearing of GeoTek until the *Journal* story appeared.

Chandler thinks *Times* coverage of GeoTek was "full and fair." But some *Times* reporters were dissatisfied, and they became even more unhappy with the paper's coverage of the GeoTek issue during Younger's campaign for reelection in 1974. "Although a few people in the industry have said the *Times* paid too much attention to the story because of Chandler's involvement," *Times* media reporter David Shaw wrote later, "most say the paper would have been far more aggressive in its pursuit of the story had he not been involved."

**M**ultimillion-dollar business deals are not the only sources of potential conflicts. More pervasive are the interlocks of charitable and philanthropic organizations with newspapers, which feel proud of their contributions to the communities they serve. Donald Dwight, for example, is the publisher of the Minneapolis *Star* and *Tribune* and a director of the parent company. He is also board chairman of the Tyrone Guthrie Theater, one of the city's premiere cultural institutions. But Dwight's interlock, however civic-minded, caused trouble last June for Christopher Evans, a *Star* feature writer.

The flap was over Alvin Epstein, Guthrie artistic director. Epstein announced his resignation several days after a critical profile, written by Evans, appeared in the *Star* Saturday magazine. Evans covered the resignation for the daily *Star*, then sent off a different version to *The New York Times*, for which he was a stringer. The *Times* lead read: "After producing a very mixed first season and starting his second season in lackluster fashion, Alvin Epstein . . . has resigned."

The *Times* wanted a follow-up, so Evans called Ep-

*continued on page 67*

## Who they are: a note on the data

The following tables contain information on the boards of the twenty-five largest newspaper companies, ranked by circulation. Each (except Newhouse) provided the names of its directors and biographical information was sought on all 290 in such documents as annual reports, 10-K forms, business directories and periodicals, membership lists, government reports, and volumes of *Who's Who* (where only about 60 percent of the directors are listed). All data were sent to each company for verification and followed up by phone. Despite all attempts to be complete and accurate, errors and omissions undoubtedly occur in what follows, in part because available biographical data were incomplete and because many companies were not cooperative.

The data require some explanation:

- ☐ All board members during 1978-1979 are listed; some

have already left the boards, while others appointed after August 1979 may be missing. Directors are either "inside" or "outside," as defined in the accompanying article. Even among experts, there is disagreement on the distinction. As used here, the categories at least have the virtue of consistency. Although every effort was made to include the job or primary title of each director, some could not readily be determined.

- ☐ Past and present corporate directorships are differentiated, and *Fortune* 1300 companies (as described in the text) are identified—along with their subsidiaries.

- ☐ The civic, trade, and cultural organizations listed are those in which individuals serve or served as trustees, directors, members of advisory committees, high-level staff members, or (in the case of exclusive groups) members. Government positions include appointed or elected posts, but not military service.

- ☐ Directorships of newspaper-company subsidiaries, or affiliations with professional groups in journalism, are not recorded here.

*P.D. and S.W.*

# INTERLOCKING DIRECTORATES

## COMPANY AND DIRECTOR

## OTHER DIRECTORSHIPS

## CIVIC, TRADE, AND GOVERNMENT POSITIONS

### KNIGHT-RIDDER: Detroit Free Press, Miami Herald, Philadelphia Inquirer

Peyton Anderson, ret'd. pres., Macon Telegraph Publishing

**Citizens & Southern Nat'l. Bank**, Atlanta; Georgia Southern & Florida RR; **Southern Co.**

Int'l. Oceanographic Fndn.

Alvah H. Chapman Jr., pres. & c.e.o., Knight-Ridder

DePauw Univ.

Josiah M. Curtis, ret'd. v.p., Knight-Ridder

Detroit Arts Comm.; Detroit Institute; United Fndn.

Byron B. Harless, sr. v.p., Knight-Ridder

Lee Hills, editorial chrmn., Knight-Ridder

United Way

James L. Knight, ret'd. chrmn., Knight-Ridder

(The Associated Press)

John S. Knight, ret'd. chrmn., Knight-Ridder

American Legion; Cornell Univ.; Univ. of Miami; VFW

C. Blake McDowell, partner, Brouse & McDowell (Akron law firm)

(Akron Savings & Loan); (First Nat'l. Bank of Akron); W.E. Wright

(Akron City Hospital)

John B. Poole, of counsel, Butzel, Long, Gust, Klein & Van Zile (Detroit law firm); ret'd. chrmn., Poole Broadcasting

(**Capital Cities Communications**); **Michigan Nat'l. Bank**; **White Motor**

American Bar Fndn.; Cranbrook Educational Community; Greater Detroit Area Hospital Council; Univ. of Chicago; (William Beaumont Hospital)

Bernard H. Ridder Jr., v. chrmn., Knight-Ridder

(The Associated Press); Great Lakes Paper

(U.S. Golf Assn.); Univ. of Minn. Fndn.

Bernard J. Ridder, ret'd. chrmn., Ridder Publications

Walter T. Ridder, Wash. ed., Knight-Ridder

Robert F. Singleton, sr. v.p., Knight-Ridder

Ben V. Schneider, ret'd. sr. v.p., Knight-Ridder

Sawyer-Ferguson-Walker

(atty. for Joint Congressional Comm. on Internal Revenue)

Clark M. Clifford, partner, Clifford, Glass, McIlwain & Finney (Wash., D.C. law firm) (0)

**Phillips Petroleum**

(secretary of defense); (special counsel to President of the U.S.)

Barbara B. Hauptfuhrer (0)

**General Public Utilities**; **Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea**; J. Walter Thompson; Philadelphia Saving Fund; Vanguard Group Investment

Comm. for Economic Development; Markle Fndn.; Wellesley College

E.J. Thomas, ret'd. chrmn., Goodyear Tire & Rubber (0)

**Goodyear Tire & Rubber**

Business Council

John L. Weinberg, sr. partner & co-chrmn., Goldman, Sachs (investment bankers) (0)

**B.F. Goodrich**; **Bulova Watch**; **Cluett, Peabody**; (Cowles Communications); (General Development); **Kraftco**; (**M. Lowenstein & Sons**); U.S. Financial

China Medical Board of N.Y.; Deerfield Academy; Josia Macy Jr. Fndn.; Nat'l. Safety Council; N.Y. Hospital; Teachers College, Columbia Univ.; UN Assn. of N.Y.

### GANNETT: Cincinnati Enquirer, Oakland Tribune, Rochester Democrat and Chronicle/Times-Union

Karl Eller, pres., Combined Communications

Arizona Bank; **Arizona Public Service**; Flori Corp.

American Graduate School of Int'l. Mgmt.; Fiesta Bowl; St. Luke's Hospital; United Way; Arizona Comm. on Nat'l. & Int'l. Commerce; C. of C.

Philip T. Gialanella, v.p., Gannett

John E. Heselden, v.p., Gannett

Maurice L. Hickey, v.p., Gannett

Ernest Liechty, ret'd. pres., Speidel Newspapers

John J. Louis Jr., chrmn., Combined Communications

Atlanta LaSalle; Butler Int'l.; First Nat'l. Bank of Winnetka, Ill.; Johnson's Wax 5KW; Laser Graphics Systems; Lincoln First Banks

Deerfield Academy; Evanston Hospital; Foxcroft School; Northwestern Univ.

Douglas H. McCorkindale, v.p., Gannett

Lend-a-Hand; C. of C.

Rollan D. Melton, v.p., Gannett

Paul Miller, ret'd. chrmn., Gannett

5KW; Hotel Waldorf Astoria; Lincoln First Banks

Boys Club; Lend-a-Hand; Rochester Auto Club; Rochester Institute of Technology; Univ. of Rochester; C. of C.

Robert B. Miller, sr. v.p., Gannett

Federal Life & Casualty; People's Home Life Insurance of Indiana; Riverside Insurance; Wolverine Insurance

South Central Michigan Health Planning Council

Allen H. Neuharth, chrmn., Gannett

**Marine Midland Bank**; Nat'l. Banks of Florida

Better Business Bureaus; C. of C.

Vincent E. Spezzano, v.p., Gannett

Louis A. Weil Jr., ret'd. pres., Federated Publications

Robert B. Whittington, pres., Speidel Newspapers

Wilnot R. Craig, ret'd. chrmn., Lincoln First Banks (0)

Armotek Industries; **Cincinnati Milacron**; Lincoln First Banks; McCurdy; Rochester Credit Center; Rochester Gas & Electric; **Sybron**; Widmer's Wine Cellars

Allegheny College; Boy Scouts; Frank E. Gannett Fndn.; (Metropolitan Rochester Housing Fndn.); (N.Y. Higher Ed. Assn.); (Rochester General Hospital); Rochester YMCA; Strong Memorial Hospital; Univ. of Rochester; (C. of C.); (N.Y. State Bankers Assn.); Rochester Clearing House Assn.; (N.Y. State Banking Dept., Advisory Comm.)

**KEY** (0) after directors' names signifies that they are "outside."  
( ) around the name of an institution in the second or third columns indicates a past affiliation.

**Bold face** type identifies *Fortune* 1,300 companies and their subsidiaries.  
The newspapers listed after each company's name are its largest or most prominent. For additional information on this table, please see page 53.

COMPANY AND DIRECTOR	OTHER DIRECTORSHIPS	CIVIC, TRADE, AND GOVERNMENT POSITIONS
Wes Gallagher, pres., World Wide Photos (0)	(The Associated Press); World Wide Photos	
J. Warren McClure, pres., McClure Media Marketing Motivation (0)	<b>Allegheny Airlines</b> ; Bill Communications; McClure Media Marketing Motivation	(Champlain College); Rochester Institute of Technology; St. John Fisher College; (Vermont Academy); C. of C.
Thomas A. Reynolds Jr., Winston & Strawn (Chicago law firm) (0)		
William P. Rogers, partner, Rogers & Wells (Wash. D.C. law firm) (0)	<b>Merrill, Lynch; Sperry Rand; Standard Oil of Ohio; Twentieth Century Fox Film</b> ; (Washington Post)	American Law Fdn.; American Law Institute; Council on Foreign Relations; (asst. district atty., N.Y. Co.); (chief counsel, Senate War Invest. Comm.); (deputy atty. general of the U.S.); (Pres.'s Comm. on Law Enforcement and Adm. of Justice); (U.S. atty. general); (U.S. Delegation to UN); (U.S. sec. of state)
James E. Webb, lawyer (Wash., D.C.) (0)	Computer Data Systems; (Fidelity Nat'l. Bank); <b>Kerr-McGee; (McDonnell Aircraft); McGraw-Hill; Sperry Rand</b>	Comm. for Economic Development; Marine Corps Reserve Officers Assn.; National Geographic Society; National Planning Assn.; Smithsonian Institution; (asst. to under sec. of treasury) (deputy gov., Int'l. Bank for Reconstruction & Development and IMF); (director, Bureau of the Budget); (Federal Home Loan Bank, Topeka); (NASA administrator); (under sec. of state)
Dolores D. Wharton, writer, lecturer, educator (0)	<b>Kellogg; Michigan Bell Telephone; Michigan Nat'l. Bank; N.Y. Telephone; Phillips Petroleum</b>	China Medical Board; Nat'l. Council on the Arts

**NEWHOUSE:** Cleveland Plain Dealer, Newark Star-Ledger, New Orleans Times-Picayune/States-Item  
(No information available)

**TRIBUNE:** New York Daily News, Chicago Tribune, Orlando Sentinel Star

Stanton R. Cook, pres. & c.e.o., Tribune	The Associated Press	Boys Club; Chicago Symphony Orchestra; Chicago Council on Foreign Relations; Field Museum; Jr. Achievement; Museum of Science & Industry; Univ. of Chicago
James F. Cowles, pres., Inland Empire Paper		
Robert M. Hunt, pres. & publisher, N.Y. Daily News		Rehabilitation Institute of Chicago; YMCA; Chicago Assn. of Commerce & Industry
Winfield H. James, ret'd. pres. & publisher, N.Y. Daily News		(Arizona-Sonora Desert Museum); (Garland Jr. College); New Rochelle Hospital Medical Center; (Outward Bound); (Second Regional Plan, Met. N.Y.); (N.Y. Convention & Visitors Bureau); (Bd. of Police Comms.); (Planning Bd., Mamaroneck, N.Y.)
John B. Lloyd, former professor of surgery at Harvard, Tufts, & Boston Univ.		
John W. Madigan, v.p., Tribune		
Leavitt J. Pope, pres., WPIX (NYC)		Daytop Village; Catholic Communications Fdn.; St. Thomas Aquinas College; N.Y. State Regents Ed'l. TV Advocate Council
Robert M. Schmon, v.p., Tribune	Banque Canadienne Nationale; Niagara Frontier Hockey; Oster Wheeler; Ritz Carlton Hotel	Brock Univ.; Princeton Alumni Assn. of Canada; Quetico Fdn.; Ridley College; Great Lakes Waterways Development Assn.
Garvin E. Tankersley		
Thomas G. Ayers, c.e.o., Commonwealth Edison (Chicago) (0)	Breeder Reactor; Chicago 21; <b>Commonwealth Edison; First Nat'l. Bank of Chicago; G.D. Searle; Northwest Industries; Sears Roebuck; Zenith Radio</b>	Chicago Symphony Orchestra; Comm. for Economic Development; Leadership Council for Metro Open Communities; Metropolitan Crusade of Mercy; Northwestern Univ.; Rush Presbytn.-St. Luke's Medical Center; Chicago Assn. of Commerce & Industry; Chicago Economic Development Commission; (E.R.D.A., advisory committee)
Robert W. Reneker, c.e.o., Esmark (0)	<b>Continental Illinois Bank; Esmark; General Dynamics; Jewel Cos.; Morton Norwich; Trans Union; U.S. Gypsum</b>	Boy Scouts; Museum of Science & Industry; Nat'l. Merit Scholarship Assn.; United Charities; United Way; Univ. of Chicago

**DOW JONES:** Wall Street Journal, Middletown (N.Y.) Times Herald-Record, Joplin (Mo.) Globe

Jane B. Cook		
Jessie B. Cox		
William C. Cox Jr., director, advertising relations, Dow Jones		
Richard D. Irwin, chrmn., Richard D. Irwin (publishing firm)	First Nat'l. Bank of Harvey, Ill.	Glenwood School for Boys; Univ. of Illinois Fdn.; (consultant, Office of Price Admin.); (District 161 School Board, Flossmoor, Ill.)
William F. Kerby, former chrmn., Dow Jones	Williamsburgh Savings Bank	Long Island Hospital; New College Fdn.
Donald A. Macdonald, v.p., Dow Jones		Advertising Council of America
James H. Ottaway Sr., chrmn., Ottaway Newspapers		Boy Scouts; (Endicott, N.Y., Community Chest); Girl Scouts; Harper College; Orange County Citizens Fdn.; (Orange County Park Comm.); (Syracuse Univ. School of Journalism); C. of C.
Warren H. Phillips, chrmn. & pres., Dow Jones		Beekman Downtown Hospital; Brooklyn Institute of Arts & Sciences; Freedom of Information Fdn.
Robert S. Potter, partner, Patterson, Belknap, Webb & Tyler (N.Y. law firm)	Fiduciary Trust, N.Y.	Chancellor of Episcopal Diocese of N.Y.; Community Council of Greater N.Y.; Community Service Society of N.Y.; Council on Foreign Relations; Episcopal Comm. on Social Responsibility in Investments; Exodus Halfway House; Investor Responsibility Research Center; NAACP Legal Defense & Educ. Fund; (U.S. Psychological Strategy Board)





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# INTERLOCKING DIRECTORATES

COMPANY AND DIRECTOR	OTHER DIRECTORSHIPS	CIVIC, TRADE, AND GOVERNMENT POSITIONS
Vermont Royster, columnist, Wall Street Journal	Wachovia Bank & Trust, Winston-Salem	National Humanities Center; St. Augustine's College; Univ. of North Carolina Press
Ray Shaw, exec. v.p., Dow Jones	Extel; Far Eastern Economic Review (Hong Kong)	
William M. Agee, c.e.o., Bendix (0)	Asarco; Bendix; Equitable Life Assurance Soc.; Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea	Associates of Harvard Business School; Boy Scouts; Comm. for Economic Development; Council on Foreign Relations; Detroit Renaissance; Jr. Achievement; Metropolitan Fund; Nat'l. Urban League; New Detroit; United Negro College Fund; Univ. of Michigan Graduate School of Business; Urban Institute; Young Presidents Organization; Business Roundtable; Conference Board; Economic Growth Council of Detroit; Nat'l. Council for U.S.-China Trade
J. Paul Austin, chrmn., Coca Cola (0)	Coca Cola; Continental Oil; Federated Dept. Stores; General Electric; Morgan Guaranty Trust; Southern Mills; Trust Co. of Georgia	Atlanta Univ. Center; Central Atlanta Progress; Jr. Achievement; Smithsonian Institution; Trilateral Commission; Twentieth Century Fund; United Negro College Fund; (Business Council); Business Roundtable
Davis W. Gregg, pres., The American College (0)		Maryville College; United Presbytn. Church
Laurence M. Lombard, Hemenway & Barnes (Boston law firm) (0)		Boston Legal Aid Society; Milton Academy; (general counsel, War Production Board); (general counsel, Civilian Production Admin.); (Office of Price Admin.)
William M. Martin Jr., ret'd. chrmn., Fed. Reserve Board (0)	American Express; Caterpillar Tractor; Eli Lilly; Freeport Minerals; General Foods; IBM; Riggs Nat'l. Bank, Wash., D.C.; Royal Dutch Petroleum; Scandinavian Securities; U.S. Steel	American Red Cross; Berry Schools; Comm. on the Present Danger; Council on Foreign Relations; Foreign Service Ed'l. Fndn.; Johns Hopkins Univ.; Rockefeller Brothers Fund; United States Steel Fndn.; Yale Univ.; (asst. secretary of the treas.); (Export-Import Bank); (chrmn., Federal Reserve Board); (exec. director, Int'l. Bank for Reconstruction & Development); Dept. of Treasury, Advisory Comm.
Charles A. Meyer, v.p., Sears Roebuck (0)	Allstate Insurance; Gillette; Homart Development; Sears Roebuck	Art Institute of Chicago; Children's Memorial Hospital; Comm. for Economic Development; Council on Foreign Relations; Girl Scouts; Lake Forest College; Phillips Academy; (asst. sec. of state for int'l. affairs)
James Q. Riordan, v.p., Mobil Oil (0)	Brooklyn Savings Bank; Chemical Bank of N.Y.; Mobil Oil; Marcor	Brooklyn Cumberland Med. Center; Brooklyn Inst. of Arts & Sciences; Comm. for Economic Development; Packer Collegiate Institute; (atty., Tax Division, Dept. of Justice); (clerk to U.S. Supreme Court); (staff, U.S. House Ways & Means Comm.)
James N. White, ret'd. partner, Scudder, Stevens & Clark (Boston investment counseling firm) (0)	Haskins Labs; Robert E. White Instruments	Carnegie Institute of Washington
Richard D. Wood, chrmn., Eli Lilly (0)	Chemical Bank of N.Y.; Elanco Products; Eli Lilly; Standard Oil of Indiana	American Enterprise Institute; Associated Colleges of Indiana; Comm. for Economic Development; Council on Foreign Relations; DePauw Univ.; Indiana State Symphony Soc.; Indianapolis Museum of Art; Lilly Endowment; Park-Tudor School; Business Roundtable; C. of C.; Pharm. Manufacturers Assn.; Dept. of Commerce, Advisory Committee
<b>TIMES MIRROR: Los Angeles Times, Newsday, Dallas Times Herald</b>		
Gwendolyn G. Babcock, partner, W.M. Garland (real estate firm)	W.M. Garland	
James F. Chambers Jr., chrmn., Dallas Times Herald	(The Associated Press); Hart, Schaffner & Marx; (Ling-Temco-Vought); Republic of Texas; SILCO	(Dallas Symphony Orchestra); (Presbyterian Hospital of Dallas); (Scottish Hospital); Advertising Council of America; U.S. Arms Control & Disarmament Agency, Advisory Comm.
Bruce Chandler, attorney (California)		(Pres.'s Comm. on Law Enforcement and Adm. of Justice)
Otis Chandler, publisher, Los Angeles Times	(The Associated Press); (GeoTek Resources Fund); (Pan American World Airways); (TRW); (Unionamerica); (Western Airlines)	
Milton H. Day, v.p., Times Mirror		
Robert F. Erburu, pres., Times Mirror	Tejon Ranch	Comm. for Economic Development; C. of C.
Daniel F. Frost, partner, Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher (L.A. law firm)	Avery Int'l.; Rohr Corp.; Tejon Ranch	Claremont Univ. Center; Performing Arts Council of the Music Center
Franklin D. Murphy, chrmn., Times Mirror	Bank of America; Ford Motor; Hallmark Cards; Norton Simon	Ahmanson Fndn.; Bank of America Giannini Fndn.; (Boy Scouts); Hallmark Ed. Fndn.; Kress Fndn.; (L.A. County Museum of Art); (Nat'l. Gallery of Art); (Urban Institute); (Comm. for Central City Planning)
Warren Williamson, partner, Crowell, Weedon (brokerage firm)		
James W. Aston, chrmn., Republic of Texas (0)	American Airlines; General Portland; Group Hospital Service; Group Medical & Surgery Service; Lone Star Steel; Neuhoof Brothers Packers; Republic of Texas; Zale	Boy Scouts; Cotton Bowl Athletic Assn.; Cotton Bowl Council; Dallas Citizens Council; Greater Dallas Planning Council; Hoblitzelle Fndn.; Southern Methodist Univ.; SW Legal Fndn.; SW Research Institute; Southwestern Med. Fndn.; State Fair of Texas; Texas A&M Univ.; Trinity Improvement Assn.; Wadley Inst. of Molecular Medicine; United Way; C. of C.; Texas Governor's Energy Advisory Council
Peter S. Bing, private investor (0)		
Albert V. Casey, chrmn., American Airlines (0)	American Airlines; CIT Financial; Colgate-Palmolive; Pacific Am. Income Shares	Boys Club; Harvard, Visiting Comm. on Univ. Resources; Performing Arts Council of L.A.; UCLA Graduate School of Business Admin.; Univ. of So. Cal. School of Business Admin.; (YMCA)
Walter B. Gerken, chrmn., Pacific Mutual Life Insurance (0)	Carter Hawley Hale Stores; Pacific Mutual Life Ins.; Security Pacific Nat'l. Bank; So. Calif. Edison; Whittaker	Calif. Community Fndn.; Calif. Institute of Technology; Calif. Taxpayers Assn.; Children's Hospital; Los Angeles World Affairs Council; Occidental College; Wesleyan Univ.; YMCA; C. of C.
Roger W. Heyns, pres., William & Flora Hewlett Fndn. (0)	Levi Strauss; Kaiser Steel; Norton Simon	Brookings Institution; Center for Advanced Study of Behavioral Sciences; Hewlett Fndn.; National Science Board; Nat'l. Science Fndn., Advisory Committee

COMPANY AND DIRECTOR	OTHER DIRECTORSHIPS	CIVIC, TRADE, AND GOVERNMENT POSITIONS
Simon Ramo, c.e.o., TRW (0)	Bunker Ramo; TRW; Union Bancorp	Aerospace Educational Fndn.; California Institute of Technology; California State Univ.; City of Hope; L.A. World Affairs Council; Music Center Assn.; Nat'l. Symphony Orch. Assn.; Stanford Univ. School of Engineering; TRW Fndn.; C. of C.; Conference Board; U.S. Dept. of State, Advisory Comm. on Science & Foreign Affairs; Presidential Science Advisory Comm.; U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Advisory Council; (White House Engineering Research & Development Advisory Council)
<b>E.W. SCRIPPS: Cleveland Press, Pittsburgh Press, Memphis Commercial Appeal</b>		
Edward W. Estlow, pres., E.W. Scripps	United Press Int'l.	(Denver Regional Red Cross); (Jr. Achievement); Univ. of Denver; Advertising Council of America; Better Business Bureaus
Gordon Hanna, gen. editorial mgr., Scripps-Howard Newspapers		
Jack R. Howard, ret'd. pres., E.W. Scripps & chrmn., Scripps-Howard Broadcasting	(Chemical Bank of N.Y.); Trans World	Boys Club; Phillips Exeter Academy; trustee, Village of Centre Island, Oyster Bay, N.Y.
Lawrence A. Leser, v.p., E.W. Scripps		United Appeal
Donald L. Perris, pres., Scripps-Howard Broadcasting		Center for Human Services; Cleveland Scholarship Programs; Playhouse Square Assn.; Assn. for Maximum Service Telecasters
Earl H. Richert, editor-in-chief, Scripps-Howard Newspapers		
Charles E. Scripps, chrmn., E.W. Scripps	First Nat'l. Bank of Cincinnati	Children's Protective Service of Ohio Humane Society; Cincinnati Council on World Affairs; College of Mt. St. Joseph; Community Improvement Corp. of Cincinnati; Freedoms Fndn.; Salvation Army; Webb School
Edward W. Scripps II	Showsphere	Int'l. Oceanographic Fndn.
Robert P. Scripps Jr.		
Barnard Townsend, ret'd. v.p., E.W. Scripps		
<b>HEARST: San Francisco Examiner, Los Angeles Herald-Examiner, Baltimore News-American</b>		
Frank A. Bennack Jr., pres. & c.e.o., Hearst	Alamo Nat'l. Bank	Boy Scouts; Lincoln Center; New York Hospital; (Our Lady of the Lake College); (San Antonio Medical Fndn.); (San Antonio Symphony); (Witte Memorial Museum); Advertising Council of America; C. of C.; nat'l. chrmn., U.S. Savings Bonds, printing & publications industry
Amory J. Cooke, v.p., Hearst		
Phoebe Hearst Cooke		
Robert J. Danzig, v.p., Hearst		
Richard E. Deems; former pres., Hearst magazines & publishing consultant		People-to-People; Rochester Institute of Technology; Advertising Council of America
David W. Hearst, v.p., Hearst		
George R. Hearst Jr., v.p., Hearst		VFW
John R. Hearst Jr., editor, Motorboating & Sailing magazine		
Randolph A. Hearst, chrmn., Hearst		
William R. Hearst Jr., editor-in-chief, Hearst Newspapers	Twentieth Century Fox Film; UPI	
William R. Hearst III, asst. mg. ed., L.A. Herald-Examiner		
Joseph Kingsbury-Smith, nat'l. ed., Hearst Newspapers & v.p., Hearst		Fordham Univ.
Harvey L. Lipton, general counsel & sec., Hearst		
Frank Massi, ret'd. pres., Hearst	Charter Indemnity; Manufacturers Hanover Trust; SW Forest Industries	Alcoholism Recovery Institute; C. of C.; Fifth Ave. Assn.
Gilbert C. Maurer, v.p., Hearst		
John R. Miller Jr., v. chrmn., Hearst		St. Paul's School; Better Business Bureaus
Harrison Mitnick, treas., Hearst		
Raymond J. Peterson, exec. v.p., Hearst magazines division		
Franklin C. Snyder, v.p., Hearst		
<b>COX: Atlanta Constitution/Journal, Dayton Daily News/Journal Herald, Austin American-Statesman</b>		
Barbara Cox Anthony		
Garner Anthony, chrmn., Cox Enterprises		
Anne Cox Chambers, U.S. Ambassador to Belgium	Fulton Nat'l. Bank; Institutional Development	Atlanta Historical Society; Atlanta Humane Society; Atlanta Music Festival Assn.; Atlanta Speech School; Atlanta Symphony; Central Atlanta Progress; Forward Arts Fndn.; Southern Center for Int'l. Studies; White House Conference on Handicapped Individuals
Robert W. Chambers, chrmn., Cox Broadcasting	General Capital; Parks Chambers	Atlanta Art Alliance; High Museum of Art
Charles E. Glover, pres., Cox Enterprises		

# INTERLOCKING DIRECTORATES

## COMPANY AND DIRECTOR

Carl R. Gross

Robert W. Sherman

Jackson W. Tarver, v. chrmn., Cox Enterprises & publisher, Atlanta Constitution & Atlanta Journal

## THOMSON: San Gabriel (Calif.) Valley Tribune, Canton Repository, Lafayette (La.) Advertiser

Paul C. Belknap

Margaret L. Hamilton, sr. v.p., Thomson Newspapers

St. Clair L. McCabe, exec. v.p. & c.e.o., Thomson Newspapers

William A. Siebenthaler, vice chrmn., Citizens First Nat'l. Bank (Xenia, Ohio)

Kenneth R. Thomson, pres., Thomson Newspapers

John A. Tory, partner, Tory, Tory, Des Lauriers & Binnington (Toronto law firm)

Crowdus Baker, management consultant (0)

Donald C. Platten, chrmn., Chemical Bank of N.Y. (0)

Daniel P. Reid, v.p., Lockheed California (0)

Andrew C. Sigler, pres., Champion Int'l. (0)

## NEW YORK TIMES: New York Times, Lakeland (Fla.) Ledger, Gainesville (Fla.) Sun

Marian Sulzberger Heiskell, professor emeritus, Univ. of Cal. at S.F.; physician

Ruth Sulzberger Holmberg, publisher, Chattanooga Times

Judith Sulzberger Levinson, asst. professor, Cornell Univ. Medical College

James B. Reston, columnist, N.Y. Times

Arthur Ochs Sulzberger, chrmn., N.Y. Times

Ivan B. Veit, v.p., N.Y. Times

William R. Cross Jr., v.p., Morgan Guaranty Trust (0)

Richard L. Gelb, chrmn., Bristol Myers (0)

William F. May, chrmn., American Can (0)

William W. Scranton (0)

George L. Shinn, chrmn., First Boston (0)

## OTHER DIRECTORSHIPS

**American Motors**; The Associated Press; (C&S Realty Investors); Maccabees Mutual Insurance; **Southern Bell Telephone**; Theaters Service

Scottish & York Holdings; Scottish & York Insurance; Victoria Insurance

Citizens First Nat'l. Bank

Abitibi Paper; Imperial Life Assurance of Canada; Scottish & York Holdings; Toronto Dominion Bank

Abitibi Paper; Richard Deboo; Rogers Cable Communications; Rogers Radio Broadcasting; **Royal Bank of Canada**; Scottish & York Holding; Scottish & York Insurance; Slater, Walker of Canada; Starson Investments; Sun Life Assurance of Canada; Victoria Insurance of Canada

**Archer Daniels Midland**; **Clark Equipment**; (Sears Roebuck)

**Assoc. Dry Goods**; **Chemical Bank of N.Y.**; **CPC**

**Lockheed California**; (Trans World Airlines)

**AMF**; **Champion Int'l.**

**Ford Motor**; **Merck**

**AMAX**; **Crompton**; **Morgan Guaranty Trust**

**Bankers Trust N.Y.**; **Bristol Myers**; **Charter**; **Cluett**; **Peabody**

**American Can**; **Bankers Trust**; **Business Int'l.**; **Cluett**; **Peabody**; Engelhard Minerals & Chemicals; **Johns Manville**

**American Express**; **Bethlehem Steel**; **Cummins Engine**; **IBM**; **Mutual of N.Y.**; Northeastern Nat'l. Bank of Penn.; Ryan Homes; **Scott Paper**; **Southeast Banking**, Miami; **Sun Oil**

(American Stock Exchange); **Chemical Bank of N.Y.**; **First Boston**; Goodbody; Greenwich Savings Bank, N.Y.C.; (Merrill Lynch); N.Y. Stock Exchange

## CIVIC, TRADE, AND GOVERNMENT POSITIONS

Mercer Univ.; (chrmn., Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta); (Georgia State Board of Education)

Board of Trade, Toronto

Canadian Mental Health Assn.; Univ. of Toronto

Jr. Achievement; McGraw Wildlife Fndn.; Museum of Science & Industry; Northwestern Univ. Assoc.

American Univ. of Beirut; Collegiate School; Comm. for Economic Development; Council on Foreign Relations; Dana Fndn.; Goodwill Industries of Greater N.Y.; Pace College; Princeton Univ.; Spencer Fndn.; United Fund of Greater N.Y.; C. of C.; Economic Development Council; Japan Society; Nat'l. Foreign Trade Council; U.S. Dept. of Treasury, Advisory Comm.

National Rifle Assn.

Comm. for Economic Development

Community Service Society of N.Y.; Council on Environment, N.Y.C.; Nat'l. Parks Hist. Sites; Nat'l. Planning Assn.; N.Y. Botanical Garden; Parks Council; Rockefeller Univ.; State Park & Rec. Comm. for N.Y.C.; U.S. Dept. of Interior, Advisory Comm.

ACLU; Hunter Museum of Art; Univ. of Tenn. at Chattanooga Fndn.; U.S. Dept. of Justice, U.S. Circuit Court Nominating Commission (N.Y.C. Board of Health)

Boy Scouts; Columbia Univ.; Metro. Museum; N.Y. Conference & Visitors Bureau

Caramoor Center for Music & Arts; Chapin School; Children's Aid Society; Citizens Budget Commission; Jacob & Valerie Longeloth Fndn.; Rippowan-Cisque School, N.Y.; (E.R.D.A., Advisory Comm.)

Comm. for Economic Development; Comm. on 2nd Regional Plan; Council on Foreign Relations; Lincoln Center; Mt. Sinai Hospital; N.Y. Urban Coalition; Business Council; Business Roundtable; Crime Control Planning Board, State of N.Y.

Am. Ditchly Fndn.; Columbia-Presbytn. Hospital; Dartmouth College; Lincoln Center; Nat'l. Conf. of Christians & Jews; Nutrition Fndn.; Poly. Institute of N.Y.; Univ. of Rochester; Advertising Council of America; U.S. Dept. of Energy, Nat'l. Industrial Energy Council

Council on Foreign Relations; (Nat'l. Conf. on Gov't.); Trilateral Commission; (Urban Institute); (Yale Univ.); (ambassador to U.N.); (chrmn., Pres. Comm. on Campus Unrest); (Comm. on Arms Control & Disarm.); (Governor of Penn.); (member, Pres.'s Price Comm.); (member, U.S. Congress from Penn.); (spl. asst. to U.S. sec. of state); U.S. Civil Service Commission, Advisory Comm.; U.S. Dept. of State, Advisory Comm.

Amherst College; Carnegie Fndn.; (Hahneman Medical College Hospital); (Int'l. House); (Kent Place School); Morristown Memorial Hospital; Morristown Museum of Arts & Sciences; N.J. Shakespeare Festival; Pingrey School; (United Hospital Fund, N.Y.C.); Univ. of Chicago Graduate School of Business; Conference Board; Securities and Exchange Commission, Institutional Investor Study



## COMPANY AND DIRECTOR

## OTHER DIRECTORSHIPS

## CIVIC, TRADE, AND GOVERNMENT POSITIONS

**CAPITAL CITIES COMMUNICATIONS: Kansas City Star/Times, Fort Worth Star-Telegram, Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader**

Daniel B. Burke, pres., CCC

First Independence Nat'l. Bank, Detroit;  
**Palm Beach; St. Regis Paper**

Med. Mission Sisters, Phila.; Univ. of Vermont

Amon Carter Jr., pres., Carter  
Publications**American Airlines; Color Tile; Graham-  
Magnetics; Great Southern; Stafford-  
Lowden**William J. Casey, counsel with Rogers  
& Wells (Wash., D.C. law firm)**Long Island Lighting; Long Island Trust**Catholic Charities; Comm. on the Present Danger; Council on Foreign  
Relations; Fordham Univ.; Int'l. Rescue Comm.; Long Island Assn. of  
Commerce & Industry; (asst. in Office of Strategic Services); (assoc. sr.  
counsel, European HQ, Marshall Plan); (chrmn., U.S. SEC); (U.S. Arms  
Control & Disarm. Agency, Advisory Council); (pres., Export-Import  
Bank); (special counsel, Small Business Committee, U.S. Senate)  
(Walden School, N.Y.C.)Gerald Dickler, partner, Hall, Dickler,  
Lawler, Kent & Howley (N.Y.C. law firm)

Joseph P. Dougherty, exec. v.p., CCC

John B. Fairchild, exec. v.p., CCC &  
chrmn., Women's Wear DailyJ. Floyd Fletcher, ret'd. v.p. & gen. mgr.,  
WTVD-TV (Durham, N.C.)

Thomas S. Murphy, c.e.o., CCC

General Housewares; **Texaco**

John B. Sias, exec. v.p., CCC

(Peters Griffin Woodward)

Lowell J. Thomas, radio news  
commentator

Golden Cycle

Boys Club; N.Y.U. Medical Center; Advertising Council of America

William S. Lasdon, v. chrmn., Warner-  
Lambert (0)**Warner-Lambert**

English Speaking Union

John H. Muller Jr., chrmn., General  
Housewares (0)General Housewares; The Robbins;  
**Triangle**

Albert Einstein College of Medicine; Cerebral Palsy Assn.

**MINNEAPOLIS STAR & TRIBUNE: Minneapolis Star/Tribune, Buffalo Courier-Express, Rapid City (S.D.) Journal**John Cowles, ret'd. chrmn., Mpls. Star  
& Tribune(The Associated Press); (First Nat'l.  
**Bank of Mpls.**; (Des Moines Register &  
Tribune)American Assembly; American Legion; Carnegie Endowment; (Ford  
Fdn.); (Harvard); (Harvard Alumni Assn.); Mpls. Society of Fine Arts;  
(Phillips Exeter Academy); Business Council; (Comm. for White House  
Conf. on Education); (consultant, Nat'l. Security Council); (Hoover  
Commission Comm. on Nat'l. Defense Establishment); (special asst. to  
Lend-Lease Administrator, Wash., D.C.); (U.S. Arms Control & Disarm.  
Agency, Advisory Comm.)John Cowles Jr., chrmn., Mpls. Star &  
Tribune(The Associated Press); (Cowles Com-  
munications); Des Moines Register &  
Tribune; (**Equitable Life Insurance of  
Iowa**); (Farmers & Mechanics Savings  
Bank); (**First Bank System, Mpls.**);  
Harper & Row; Industry Sq.  
DevelopmentCouncil on Foreign Relations; (German Marshall Fund); (Guthrie Theater  
Fdn.); (Minn. Civil Liberties Union); (Mpls. Fdn.); (Mpls. United Fund);  
(Phillips Exeter Academy); (Urban Coalition); (Walker Art Center); C. of C.Donald R. Dwight, publisher, Mpls. Star  
& TribuneConcord, N.H., Monitor; Greenville,  
Mass., Recorder; Holyoke Transcript-  
Telegram; New England Life Insurance;  
**Pillsbury; Valley Graphics**Guthrie Theater Fdn.; Hampshire College; Mpls. Society for Fine Arts;  
Twin Cities Public TV; Downtown Council; (Assoc. Commissioner of  
Public Works, Mass.); (Commissioner of Admin. & Finance, Mass.);  
(Lt. Gov., Mass.)Lois Cowles Harrison, pres., Florida  
League of Women VotersAdvance Investors; **Equitable Life  
Assurance U.S.**; Harper & Row; (J.  
Henry Schroder Banking); (Schroder  
Trust)Florida Fine Arts Council; Florida League of Women Voters; Wellesley  
College; Florida Constitutional Revision Commission; Florida Ethics  
Commission; Governor's Comm. on the Status of WomenWinthrop Knowlton, pres. & c.e.o.,  
Harper & Row(Cowles Communications); Des Moines  
Register & Tribune; **Iowa-Des Moines  
Nat'l. Bank**; Iowa Kemper Insurance;  
**Nat'l. By-Products**Council on Foreign Relations; New York City Ballet; Teachers College,  
Columbia Univ.; (consultant, Office of Education, HEW); (Dept. of  
Treasury, asst. sec. for int'l. affairs)David Kruidenier, pres., Des Moines  
Register & TribuneThe Associated Press; Harper & Row;  
**Northwestern Nat'l. Bank, Mpls.**Am. Fed. Arts; Council on Foreign Relations; Des Moines Art Center;  
Des Moines Civic Center; Drake Univ.; (Greater Des Moines Comm.);  
Grinnell College; Iowa Methodist Hospital; Menninger Fdn.; Midwest  
Research Institute; Yale Univ. Development BoardOtto A. Silha, pres., Mpls. Star &  
Tribune

(Nat'l. Bank of Black Hills)

Greater Mpls. Met. Housing; (Guthrie Theater Fdn.); Midwest Research  
Institute; (Mpls. Area Development); (Mpls. Society for the Blind); (Minn.  
Society of the Arts); (Minn. Theater Fund); (United Way of Mpls.); (Univ.  
of Minn.); Univ. of Minn. Alumni Assn.; Univ. of Minn. Fdn.; (Upper  
Midwest Council); (C. of C.); Governor's Advisory Commission, Minn.  
Dept. of Business DevelopmentJoyce A. Swan, ret'd. chrmn., Rapid  
City (S.D.) JournalFarmers & Mechanics Saving Bank,  
Mpls.(Rapid City Reg. Hospital); S.D. Citizens Comm. for Higher Educ.; United  
Fund; Univ. of Missouri Development Fund; Upper Midwest Council;  
C. of C.; Civic Center Development Assn.; Downtown Council; (Federal  
Reserve Bank of Mpls.)Paul A. Tattersall, v.p., Mpls. Star &  
TribuneJohn B. Davis Jr., pres., Macalester  
College (0)Educational Testing Service; Hampshire College; KTCA-TV; Mpls.  
Society of Fine Arts; Rand Corp.; Rockefeller Panel on Arts, Educ., and  
Americans; Spring Hill Conference Center; UCLA; Walker Art Center;  
Nat'l. Science Fdn.; (Pres.'s Comm. on School Finance); (Pres.'s  
Science Advisory Comm.); (sup't., Mpls. Schools)

# INTERLOCKING DIRECTORATES

COMPANY AND DIRECTOR	OTHER DIRECTORSHIPS	CIVIC, TRADE, AND GOVERNMENT POSITIONS
Luther L. Hill Jr., exec. v.p., Equitable Life Insurance of Iowa (0)	Des Moines Register & Tribune; <b>Equitable Life Insurance of Iowa</b> ; F.M. Hubbell & Son	Planned Parenthood of Iowa; Simpson College; Thompson Trust; (United Way of Des Moines); (clerk to U.S. Supreme Court)
Kingsley H. Murphy Jr., pres., Northland Stations (0)	Northland Stations	Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party; (Guthrie Theater Fndn.); (Metropolitan Council); (Governor's Open Appointments Commission); (Governor's Task Force on Public/Educational Radio)

## CENTRAL NEWSPAPERS: Indianapolis Star/News, Arizona Republic/Phoenix Gazette, Muncie (Ind.) Press/Star

William A. Dyer Jr., pres., Indpls. Newspapers & Muncie Newspapers	Standard Life Insurance, Indpls.	(Brown Univ.); Indpls. Community Hospital; United Fund, Indpls.; Better Business Bureaus; C. of C.
Raymond E. Houk, ret'd. circulation director, Indianapolis Star & Indianapolis News		
Eugene S. Pulliam, exec. v.p., Central Newspapers; publisher, Indpls. News & Indpls. Star; pres., Phoenix Newspapers		Debakey Medical Fndn.; Indiana Academy; St. Richard's School, Indpls.; U.S. Golf Assn.; Nat'l. Council on the Humanities
Nina M. Pulliam, ret'd. pres., Central Newspapers & ret'd. publisher, Ariz. Republic/Phoenix Gazette		(Franklin College); Nat'l. Society for the Prevention of Blindness
James C. Quayle, publisher, Huntington (Ind.) Herald-Press		
Frank E. Russell, pres., Central Newspapers		500 Festival Assoc.; Indpls. Bar Fndn.; Salvation Army; Winova Memorial Hospital; (YMCA)
J. Dwight Peterson, ret'd. chrmn., City Securities (0)	<b>American States Life Insurance</b> ; Bowes Seal Fast; City Discount; City Securities; Cosco; Indiana Telephone; Indpls. Life Insurance; Lianhurst Realty; Lilly Industrial Coatings; Public Telephone	

## NEWS AMERICA: New York Post, San Antonio Express/News

Joseph G. Armstrong, exec. v.p., News America & publisher, New York and New West magazines		
Raymond R. Dittrich, v.p. & sec., News America		
Donald D. Kummerfeld, pres., News America	(First Boston)	Citizens Budget Commission of N.Y.C.; Twyla Tharp Dance Fndn.; Japan Society; (budget director, N.Y.C.); (exec. director, Emergency Financial Control Board, N.Y.C.); (first deputy mayor, N.Y.C.)
K. Rupert Murdoch, chrmn., News America		
H. Mervyn Rich, v.p., News America		
Richard A. Sarazen, exec. v.p., News America		55th St. N.Y.C. Center Dance Fndn.
E. George Viles, exec. v.p., News America		
Stanley S. Shuman, exec. v.p., Allen & Co. (investment bankers) (0)	Allen & Co.; Applied Devices; Cavalier; Horizon; Int'l. Foodservice	Dalton School; Genesis Project; Jewish Guild for the Blind; Nat'l. Economic Development Law Project; Wiltwyck School; Emergency Financial Control Board, N.Y.C.; N.Y. Governor's Task Force on Unemployment

## FREEDOM: Santa Ana Register, Colorado Springs Gazette Telegraph, Fort Pierce (Fla.) News Tribune

Albert W. Bassett, private accountant (Amarillo, Tex.)		
Gene Bryan, publisher, New Bern (N.C.) Sun-Journal		
David Hardie, private accountant (Sacramento, Cal.)		
Douglas R. Hardie, asst. mg. ed., Santa Ana (Cal.) Register & asst. treas., Freedom Newspapers		
Robert C. Hardie, v.p., Freedom Newspapers & publisher, Marysville (Cal.) Appeal-Democrat		
Mrs. Robert Hardie		
Clarence H. Hoiles, chrmn., Freedom Newspapers		
Harry H. Hoiles, v. chrmn., Freedom Newspapers		Institute for Humane Studies
Timothy Hoiles, publisher, Victorville (Cal.) Daily Press		
Richard Oncken, publisher, Pampa (Tex.) Daily News		Community Day Care Center; United Fund; C. of C.
Robert D. Threshie Jr., v.p., Freedom Newspapers & publisher, Santa Ana (Cal.) Register		

## COMPANY AND DIRECTOR

## OTHER DIRECTORSHIPS

## CIVIC, TRADE, AND GOVERNMENT POSITIONS

Richard Wallace, gen. mgr., Santa Ana (Cal.) Register & treas., Freedom Newspapers

**WASHINGTON POST: Washington Post, Trenton Times, Everett (Wash.) Herald**

Robert D. Campbell, chrmn., Newsweek

Almaden Vineyards; Sawyer-Ferguson-Walker

Comm. for Economic Development; Council on Foreign Relations; Foreign Policy Assn.; Conference Board; Nat'l. Assn. of Manufacturers; N.Y. Board of Trade; Pacific Basin Economic Council

Joel Chaseman, pres., Post-Newsweek Stations

(Westinghouse Broadcasting)

Peter A. Derow, pres., Newsweek

(CBS)

George J. Gillespie III, partner, Cravath, Swaine & Moore (N.Y.C. law firm)

Pinkerton's; CIA Fundidora De Monterrey S.A.

Boys Club; John M. Olin Fndn.; Nat'l. Multiple Sclerosis Society; Pinkerton Fndn.; Rye Country Day School

Donald E. Graham, publisher, Washington Post

Federal City Council

Katharine Graham, chrmn., Washington Post

(Allied Chemical); The Associated Press; Bowaters Mersey Paper

Comm. for Economic Development; Council on Foreign Relations; George Washington Univ.; John F. Kennedy School of Gov't., Harvard Univ.; Museum of Broadcasting; Univ. of Chicago; Urban Institute; (Advertising Council of America); Conference Board

Mark J. Meagher, pres., Washington Post

Bowaters Mersey Paper; Maple Press

Foreign Policy Assn.; NAACP; Urban League; Washington Hospital Center; Downtown Progress Comm., Wash., D.C.; Federal City Council; Met. Wash. Board of Trade; Nat'l. Alliance of Businessmen

Eugene Meyer III, professor of medicine, Johns Hopkins Medical School

Johns Hopkins Hospital; Maryland Children's Center; Washington School of Psychiatry; Wm. Alanson White Psychiatric Fndn.

John W. Sweeterman, ret'd. publisher, Washington Post

American Security & Trust

Catholic Charities; Catholic Youth Org.; Georgetown Univ.; Redskin Fndn.; St. Joseph's Home & School; United Givers Fund; Downtown Comm.; Federal City Council

Warren E. Buffett, chrmn. of the board, Berkshire Hathaway (0)

Assoc. Retail Stores; Berkshire Hathaway; **Blue Chip Stamps**; Buffalo Evening News; Cornhuskers Casualty; Columbia Insurance; Diversified Retailing; Illinois Bank & Trust; **Munsingwear**; Nat'l. Indemnity; Nat'l. Fire & Marine Insurance; Omaha Nat'l. Bank; Pinkerton's; See's Candy Shops; Sun Newspapers

Boys Club; Grinnell College; Stanford Univ. Graduate School of Business; Urban Institute

Nicholas DeB. Katzenbach, v.p. & general counsel, IBM (0)

IBM

Addiction Research & Treatment; Council on Foreign Relations; Int'l. Voluntary Services; Nat'l. Multiple Sclerosis Society; NAACP Legal Defense Fund; Overseas Development Council; Princeton Univ.; Puerto Rican Nat'l. Defense Fund; Supreme Court Hist. Society; Vera Institute of Justice; (asst. atty. gen.); (attorney general); (deputy atty. gen.); (Pres.'s Comm. on Law Enforcement and Adm. of Justice); (under sec. of state)

Arjay Miller, ret'd. dean, Stanford Univ. Graduate School of Business (0)

**Ford Motor**; **Levi Strauss**; SRI Int'l.; **Trans World Airlines**; **Utah Int'l.**; **Wells Fargo Bank**

Brookings Institution; Eisenhower Exchange Fellowship; Int'l. Executive Service Corps; Trilateral Commission; United Nations Assn.; Urban Institute; Bay Area Council; Conference Board; Advisory Comm. on U.S. Trade Policy; Pres.'s Nat'l. Comm. on Productivity

Richard M. Paget, pres., Cresap, McCormick & Paget (mgmt. consulting firm) (0)

**American Int'l.**; Cresap, McCormick & Paget; ICI Americas; **Josten's**; **Leggettgroup**; **NL Industries**; Simplicity Pattern; Skandia Am. Reinsurance; Union Dime Savings Bank of N.Y.

Metro. Museum of Art; N.Y. Medical Center; Northwestern Univ.; St. Barnabas Medical Center; U.S. Dept. of Defense, Advisory Comm.

**EVENING NEWS: Detroit News, Palm Springs Desert Sun, Vineland (N.J.) Times Journal**

John Booth Beresford, pres., All Service Phototypesetting

All Service Phototypesetting

Peter B. Clark, chrmn., Evening News Assn.

American Red Cross; Citizens Research Council of Michigan; Detroit Institute of the Arts; Detroit Renaissance; Earhart Fndn.; Kenyon College; Harper-Grace Hospitals; Medical Center Development; Metropolitan Detroit Science Fair; United Community Services of Detroit; United Foundation Met. Detroit; United Hospitals of Detroit; C. of C.; (chrmn., Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago)

Harold A. Ruemanapp, partner, Butzel, Long, Gust, Klein & Van Zile (Detroit law firm)

Besser; Darin & Armstrong; Detroit Coca Cola Bottling

Robert W. Scripps, self-employed naval architect

Detroit Institute of the Arts; Detroit Public Library

Richard M. Spitzley, sr. v.p., Evening News Assn.

Cranbrook Educational Community

Richard Booth Wallace, treasurer, Evening News Assn.

Edwin K. Wheeler, v.p., Evening News

James Scripps Whitcomb Jr., pres., Mitchell Plastics

Mitchell Plastics; Motheral

Warren Scripps Wilkinson, chrmn., Reinforced Plastics Industry & pres., Metal Dynamics

Metal Dynamics; Reinforced Plastics Industry

Detroit Historical Society; French Alliances; French Festival of Detroit

# INTERLOCKING DIRECTORATES

## COMPANY AND DIRECTOR

## OTHER DIRECTORSHIPS

## CIVIC, TRADE, AND GOVERNMENT POSITIONS

### FIELD ENTERPRISES: Chicago Sun-Times

Frederick W. Field, private investor

Marshall Field, chrmn., Field Enterprises

First Nat'l. Bank of Chicago

Art Institute of Chicago; Boys Clubs; Boy Scouts; Chicago Council on Foreign Relations; Dialogue with the Blind; Field Museum of Natural History; Int'l. Atlantic Salmon Fndn.; Lincoln Park Zool. Society; MacMurray College; McGraw Wildlife Fndn.; Museum of Science & Industry; Nat'l. Book Commission; Nat'l. Comm. American Land Trust; Nat'l. Comm. on the Prevention of Child Abuse; Orchestral Assn. of Chicago; Rush-Presbytn.-St. Luke's Medical Center; Stanford Univ., Journalism Advisory Comm.; Univ. of Chicago; World Wildlife Fund; U.S. Dept. of State, Fine Arts Comm.

Charles B. Stauffacher, pres., Field Enterprises

Chicago & Milw. St. Paul & Pacific RR.; Firestone Tire & Rubber; First Charter, N.Y.; FMC; Kemper; Lumberman's Mutual; Nat'l. Blvd. Bank, Chicago; U.S. Gypsum

Comm. for Economic Development; Council on Foreign Relations; Int'l. Executive Service; Pomona College; (asst. to director of defense mobilization); (U.S. Bureau of the Budget)

John G. Trezevant, v.p., Field Enterprises & chrmn., Field Newspaper Syndicate

First Nat'l. Bank of Chicago; Hart Schaffner & Marx; Inland Steel; Standard Oil of Indiana

Northwestern Univ.; United Charities of Chicago; Univ. of Illinois; Elk Grove Village

A. Robert Abboud, chrmn., First Nat'l. Bank of Chicago (0)

Chicago Heart Assn.; Children's Memorial Hospital; Comm. for Economic Development; Council on Foreign Relations; Leadership Council for Open Communities; Research Fndn.; Univ. of Chicago; Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago; (U.S. Dept. of Treasury, Advisory Comm.)

Thomas H. Baldikowski, partner, Baldikowski, Klotz & Cooper (0)

Smith Barney

Thomas F. Githens, sr. v.p., Smith Barney (N.Y.C.) (0)

Ben W. Heineman, pres., NW Industries (0)

First Nat'l. Bank of Chicago; NW Industries

(Harvard Univ. Dept. of Economics, Visiting Comm.); Rockefeller Fndn.; Univ. of Chicago; (White House Conf. to Fulfill These Rights); (Illinois Board of Higher Education); (Pres.'s Comm. on Income Maintenance Programs); (Pres.'s Task Force on Gov't. Org.)

Robert Lemon, broadcasting consultant (0)

Newton N. Minow, partner, Sidele & Austin (Chicago law firm) (0)

Aetna Life Insurance; Arthur Andersen; Pan American World Airways

Chicago Educational TV; Chicago Orchestral Assn.; Jewish Theological Seminary; Mayo Fndn.; Northwestern Univ.; Notre Dame Univ.; Public Broadcasting Service; Rand Corp.; (adm. asst. to Gov. Stevenson of Ill.); (chrmn., Federal Communications Commission); (law clerk to U.S. Supreme Court); (spl. asst. to Adlai Stevenson in pres. campaigns of 1952 and 1956)

Paul E. Taylor Jr., partner, Lazard, Freres (investment bankers) (0)

Royall Victor, partner, Cravath Swain & Moore (N.Y.C. law firm) (0)

Indian Head

Met. Opera Assn.

### COPLEY: San Diego Union/Tribune, Springfield State Journal-Register, Aurora (Ill.) Beacon News

Richard G. Capen Jr., sr. v.p., Copley Press

San Diego Trust & Savings Bank; UPI

C. of C.; (deputy asst. sec., director public affairs, Dept. of Defense)

David C. Copley

Helen Kinney Copley, chrmn., Copley Press

Fine Arts Society of San Diego; Freedoms Fndn. of Valley Forge; Friends of Int'l. Center; La Jolla Museum of Contemporary Arts; Makua Aux.; Navy League; San Diego Hall of Science; San Diego Society of Natural History; San Diego Symphony Assn.; San Diego Women's Council; Scripps Clinic & Research Fndn.; Scripps Memorial Hospital; Social Service League of La Jolla; Univ. of San Diego; Washington Crossing Fndn.; YMCA; Zool. Society of San Diego; La Jolla Town Council

Alex DeBakcsy, gen. mgr., San Diego Union & Tribune

David M. Elderkin, partner, Wadsworth, Elderkin, Pirnie & Von Lackum (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, law firm)

(asst. county atty., Linn County); Iowa Supreme Court Advisory Committee on Rules of Civil Procedure; (Supreme Court appointee, legislative ethics comm.)

Donald F. Hartman, ret'd. sr. v.p., Copley Press

Hubert L. Kaltenbach, pres., Copley Press

Joseph P. Kinney

John Marshall Law School

Lambert M. Ochenschlager, partner, Reid, Ochenschlager, Murphy & Hupp (Aurora, Ill., law firm)

Irvine W. Reynolds, sr. v.p., Copley Press

Spasors Electronic

Economic Research Bureau; Mission Bay Research Fndn.; Sea World; C. of C.; Nat'l. Assn. of Manufacturers; Nat'l. Industrial Conference Board; San Diego Economic Council; Cal. Dept. of Employment, Advisory Comm.

Maynard J. Toll, partner, O'Melveny & Myers (L.A. law firm)

Cyprus Mines; Earle M. Jorgenson; Harold R. Swanton; Russel Reynolds Assocs.; Western Federal Savings & Loan Assn.

American Bar Fndn.; Auto Club of So. Cal.; Hollywood Turf Club Assoc. Charities; Hospital of the Good Samaritan; John R. & Dora Haynes Fndn.; L.A. Community Chest Campaign; L.A. County Bar Fndn.; L.A. County Museum of Art; Legal Aid & Defender Assn.; Nat'l. Conference of Bar Presidents; (L.A. City Board of Education)



COMPANY AND DIRECTOR	OTHER DIRECTORSHIPS	CIVIC, TRADE, AND GOVERNMENT POSITIONS
<b>LEE: Wisconsin State Journal, Quad-City Times, Billings Gazette</b>		
Richard Belkin, v.p., Lee Enterprises		
James E. Burgess, v.p., Lee Enterprises		
Lloyd D. Loers, v.p., Lee Enterprises		
Lloyd G. Schermer, pres., Lee Enterprises	Davenport Bank & Trust	Univ. of Montana Fndn.
John S. Stemlar, v.p., Lee Enterprises		
John Talbot, publisher, The Missoulian (Montana)		
Charles D. Waterman Jr., partner, Lane & Waterman (Davenport, Iowa law firm)		
Tom L. Williams, publisher, Quad-City Times & Montana Standard		
Harry A. Fischer Jr., v.p., Paine Webber Jackson & Curtis (Chicago) (0)	<b>Paine Webber Jackson &amp; Curtis; Republic Realty Mortgage</b>	
David A. Jaquith, chrmn., Vega Industries (0)	Analog Devices; Carrolls Development; Drury Development; Dynalectron; J.H. Harland; Nat'l. Liberty; Philadelphia Quartz; U.S. Home; Vega Industries	
Phyllis S. Sewell, v.p., Federated Dept. Stores (0)	<b>Federated Dept. Stores</b>	
<b>MEDIA GENERAL: Richmond Times-Dispatch/News-Leader, Tampa Tribune/Times, Winston-Salem Journal/Sentinel</b>		
Andrew J. Brent, partner, Christian, Barton, Epps, Brent & Chappell (Richmond law firm)	Central Va. Educational TV; Security Federal Savings & Loan	Collegiate School; Mary Baldwin College; Richmond Area Community Council; Richmond Eye Hospital; Richmond Memorial Hospital; Richmond Metro. Authority; Richmond Professional Institute; Va. Commonwealth Univ.; Va. Public Telecommunicators Council; C. of C.; Downtown Development
David T. Bryan, chrmn., Media General	<b>Southern Railway</b>	Hoover Institution; Maymont Fndn.; Richmond Memorial Hospital; Virginia Union Univ.
J. Stewart Bryan III, publisher, Richmond Times-Dispatch & News-Leader		
Alan S. Donnahoe, pres., Media General	Purolator; United Va. Bank, Richmond	Citizens Study Council; (Collegiate School); Nat'l. Center for Resource Recovery; Richmond Area Community Council; Richmond Eye Hospital; Richmond Memorial Hospital; RPI Fndn.; (United Givers Fund); Va. Commonwealth Univ.; Better Richmond; C. of C.; Advisory Comm. to Sec. of Ed., State of Va.; (Business Advisory Comm., U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics); (Fiscal Study Comm., Va. Advisory Legislative Council); (Va. Metro. Area Study Comm.)
Nicholas F. Brady, pres., Dillon Read (0)	Bessemer Securities; Dillon Read; Doubleday; Georgia Int'l.; NCR; Purolator; <b>Wolverine World Wide</b>	(American Natural History Museum); Boys Club
Archibald K. Davis, ret'd. chrmn., Wachovia Bank & Trust (0)	A.T.&T.; Chatham Mfg.; Jordan Spinning; R.J. <b>Reynolds Industries</b> ; Sellers Mfg.; <b>Southern Railway</b> ; <b>Wachovia</b>	Comm. for Economic Development; Duke Endowment; Old Salem; Research Triangle Fund of N.C.; Salem Academy & College; American Bankers Assn.; C. of C.; Northwest N.C. Development Assn.; (Federal Reserve Bank, Charlotte); (member, N.C. Senate from Forsyth County)
Gordon Gray, chrmn., Summit Communications (0)	American Security & Trust, D.C.; R.J. <b>Reynolds Industries</b> ; Summit Communications; (Triangle Broadcasting)	Corcoran Art Gallery; Council on Foreign Relations; National Trust for Historic Preservation; Federal City Council; (asst. sec., Army Dept. of Defense); (asst. sec. of defense for int'l. security affairs); (director, Office of Defense Mobilization); (Pres.'s Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board); (spl. asst. to Pres.); (spl. asst. to Pres. for nat'l. security affairs)
Paul E. Manheim, ltd. partner, Lehman Bros. Kuhn Loeb (investment bankers) (0)	Brascan; Cuban Sugar Plantations; General Sugar Estates; Lehman Bros. Kuhn Loeb; Vertientes Camaguey Sugar; William St. Fund	Boston Museum; Brooklyn Museum; Dartmouth College; Metro. Museum; Notre Dame Univ.; Univ. of Va. Graduate School of Business; (American Consul, British Guiana)
J. Harvie Wilkinson Jr., ret'd. chrmn., United Virginia Bank (0)	Capitoline Investment Services; <b>Freeport Minerals</b> ; United Virginia Bank	
<b>HARTE HANKS: Corpus Christi Caller/Times, Anderson (S.C.) Independent/Mail, South Middlesex (Mass.) News</b>		
Larry D. Franklin, sr. v.p., Harte Hanks	<b>Main Bank &amp; Trust, San Antonio</b>	Nat'l. Audubon Society
Edward H. Harte, publisher, Corpus Christi Caller-Times		
Houston H. Harte, chrmn., Harte Hanks		(Boy Scouts); East Texas State Univ.; San Angelo Symphony; Stillman College; USAF College
John G. Johnson, v.p., Harte Hanks		
Robert G. Marbut, pres. & c.e.o., Harte Hanks		Texas Research League; Univ. of Georgia School of Journalism; Univ. of Texas Fndn. for Communications School
Bruce B. Meador, sec., Harte Hanks		W. Texas Rehab. Center; Texas Industrial Commission
Andrew B. Shelton, chrmn., exec. comm., Harte Hanks		
Madelyn P. Jennings, v.p., Standard Brands (0)	<b>Hanes; Standard Brands</b>	Human Resources Planning Society; Int'l. Health Directors Assn.; Nat'l. Industrial Conf. Board

# INTERLOCKING DIRECTORATES

COMPANY AND DIRECTOR	OTHER DIRECTORSHIPS	CIVIC, TRADE, AND GOVERNMENT POSITIONS
Myles L. Mace, professor emeritus, Harvard Univ. Graduate School of Business (0)	Camp, Dresser & McKee; <b>Carrier</b> ; <b>Hanes</b> ; <b>Litton Industries</b> ; <b>Squibb</b>	
Stuart D. Watson, pres., Heublein (0)	Allied Brewers; Coca Cola Bottling; Conn. Bank & Trust; <b>Conn. Mutual Life Insurance</b> ; <b>Heublein</b> ; <b>Insilico</b> ; <b>Mohasco Industries</b> ; <b>Stanley Works</b> ; <b>The Nashua Corp.</b>	Advertising Council of America; Nat'l. Business Council for Consumer Affairs
<b>INDEPENDENT PUBLICATIONS: Philadelphia Bulletin, Santa Barbara News-Press</b>		
Brady O. Bryson, member, Morgan, Lewis & Bockius (Phila. law firm)	Artemis; Curtis Publishing; Development Co. Am.; ( <b>Polymer</b> ); S.H. Tevis & Son	Louis L. Stott Fndn.
Joseph G. Elliott, v.p., Independent Publications		
John A. Flynn, treas., Independent Publications		
William G. Foulke, ret'd. chrmn., Provident Nat'l.	East Tenn. & Western N.C. Transportation; (Old Phila. Development); Pardee; Pardee & Curtin Lumber; <b>Provident Mutual Life Insurance of Phila.</b> ; (Provident Nat'l. Bank)	(Charles Ellis School for Girls); Fairmount Park Art Assn.; (Penn. Hospital); (Phila. Crime Commission); (United Campaign); (Univ. City Science Center)
Donald G. McLean, pres., Lazy River Houseboat Sales & Rentals	Lazy River Houseboat Sales & Rentals	
Robert McLean, chrmn., Phila. Evening & Sunday Bulletin	(The Associated Press)	
William L. McLean III, pres., Independent Publications		
Albert Spendlove, ret'd. v.p., Phila. Bulletin		YMCA
William E. Strasburg, exec. v.p., Independent Publications		
Robert L. Taylor, chrmn., Independent Publications	The Associated Press	Academy Museum; Art Museum; Boy Scouts; Children's Aid Society; Phila. Bicentennial; United Way; Better Business Bureaus; Board of Trade & Conventions; C. of C.
Stuart S. Taylor, v.p., Independent Publications		
<b>AFFILIATED: Boston Globe, North Adams (Mass.) Transcript</b>		
Robert T. H. Davidson, self-employed lawyer		Brooklyn Hospital; Hope Goddard Iselin Fndn.; New England Medical Center Hospital; Steele-Reese Fndn.; The Cerimon Fund; The Pressprich Corp.
Sidney W. Davidson, ret'd. partner, Davidson, Dawson & Clark (N.Y.C. law firm)	(Brooklyn Savings Bank); ( <b>Chemical Bank of N.Y.</b> )	Brooklyn Institute of Arts & Science; (Brooklyn Museum); Chadwick Fund; Gould Academy; Lawrenceville School; New England Medical Center Hospital; (Packer Collegiate Institute); Pratt Institute; Yale Law School Assn.; (Federal Alien Enemy Hearing Board)
Robert Haydock Jr., partner, Bingham, Dana & Gould (Boston law firm)	Bay Bank; Consumer Credit Counseling of Eastern Mass.; Mac Moran Chevrolet; Newton-Waltham Trust; Sahara Baking	Milton Academy
Charles H. Taylor Jr., practicing psychotherapist		Yale-New Haven Medical Center
John I. Taylor, pres., Affiliated Publications		Associated Fndns. of Greater Boston; Elma Lewis School; Gessel Institute for Child Behavior; JFK School of Gov't., Harvard Univ.; Milton Academy
William D. Taylor, chrmn., Affiliated Publications		American Cancer Society; Boy Scouts; Episcopal Church Fndn.; (Harvard Univ.); Hurricane Island Outward Bound School; Noble & Greenough School; (Vineyard Open Land Fndn.); Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution
William O. Taylor, exec. v.p., Affiliated Publications		Boys Clubs; Cotting School for Handicapped Children; New England Aquarium; United South End Settlement; United Way of Mass.
Roland D. Grimm, chrmn., Faneuil Management (0)	Associated Madison; (Contrafund); Cullinane; (Dow Theory Fund); (Endowment Mgmt. & Research); Faneuil Management; (Fidelity Mgmt. & Research); (Omega Fund); (Second Congress St. Fund); Sontek Industries; (State St. Bank & Trust); State St. Boston Finance	Lend-a-Hand Society; New England Deaconess Hospital; New England Medical Hospital; Univ. of Notre Dame
Hartford N. Gunn Jr., v. chrmn., Public Broadcasting Service (Wash., D.C.) (0)	Public Broadcasting Service, Wash., D.C.	(Assn. of Harvard Alumni); (Council for Public Schools); Council on Foreign Relations; (Fletcher School of Law & Diplomacy, Edward R. Murrow Center); Harvard Graduate School of Education; Int'l. Music Council; (World Peace Fndn.); (Mass. Dept. of Education)
Robert A. Lawrence, mng. partner, State St. Investment (0)	Federal St. Fund; Greater Boston Charitable Trust; State St. Bank & Trust; State St. Boston; State St. Exchange Fund; State St. Investment	Mass. General Hospital; Mt. Auburn Cemetery; New England Aquarium; Noble & Greenough School; Wellesley College

continued from page 53

stein. Epstein wasn't in; Evans left a message. The return call came not from Epstein, but from Dwight. Epstein had complained to Dwight about the "harsh" *Times* lead and Dwight told Evans that he thought the complaint was justified.

"Dwight was tactful," Evans says, "but he still made it clear that he wanted the Epstein thing handled very quietly. It didn't occur to him that there was a conflict." Worried about future intervention from Dwight, Evans complained to The Newspaper Guild and to *Star* editor Stephen Isaacs, who met with Dwight about the matter.

Dwight, lieutenant governor of Massachusetts before joining the Star and Tribune Company, says he had been careful to discuss only the *New York Times* article with Evans: "I didn't talk to Evans about anything in the *Star*, because that would have been inappropriate." Dwight says that he considered Evans a freelance and that he would have registered the same complaint with any freelance who had written the *Times* lead. "If I had to do it again," he adds, "I would only have been the facilitator in getting Epstein to call Evans."

**F**our-hundred and fifty miles to the south, reporters at the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* complain of interference from publisher Duncan Bauman, whose ties to local not-for-profit hospitals have proved troublesome. (The *Globe* is owned by Newhouse, one of the most closed of private corporations and the only newspaper company that will not reveal the names of its directors. The refusal is academic, however, because the publisher of each paper has so much editorial autonomy that his interlocks are more significant than those of the directors, whoever they may be.)

In 1977, *Globe* reporters Robert Peirce and Robert Teuscher were working on a series about rising hospital costs. They learned that Bauman served on boards at the Missouri Baptist and DePaul hospitals, both not-for-profit institutions in St. Louis. Peirce anticipated trouble. He got it. "Before the stories were written, the publisher told me that he didn't want any information about the profits of not-for-profit hospitals, something we had researched," recalls Peirce, who is now at the Louisville *Courier-Journal*.

The reporters included profit figures in their stories, despite the warning. The series was edited heavily, then tabled for three months. Peirce left the *Globe* during that time; Teuscher asked to have his byline removed if anything were published. The edited version eventually was handed to *Globe* reporter Art Kaufman. He turned a five-part series about hospital finances into an eight-part series on rising health care costs in general. The series that finally ran in early 1978 made no mention of the profits of not-for-profit hospitals.

*Globe* newsroom staff members—unanimous in requesting anonymity—say they are unsure whether Bauman edited the story himself. But they are all con-

vinced that Bauman's interlocks influenced the news product. "Of course I read the story. I'm the publisher. That's my job," says Bauman, who adds that there was nothing improper in applying what he had learned on the hospital boards to his job as publisher. "It's a sad day when someone with knowledge is kept out of the editing process," he concludes.

### Caution's the word

Interlocks also pose less tangible problems for newspapers, and the one reporters most frequently mention is self-censorship. In Minneapolis, for example, *Star* and *Tribune* reporters seem to feel that their papers do a pretty good job of covering Pillsbury, a multinational firm that has its headquarters in the city. Many of these same reporters, however, have what can only be described as a vague sense that coverage would be better if their parent company weren't interlocked with Pillsbury through publisher Dwight.

Lynda McDonnell, a *Tribune* business and labor writer, opposed Dwight's acceptance of the Pillsbury directorship when it was offered in 1976. "The interlock embarrasses me," says McDonnell, who is now a Nieman Fellow. "You have his directorship in the back of your mind if you have to write something about Pillsbury. You probably are more cautious; you probably are going to think twice. I have no doubt that if I write a critical article, Dwight will get a call from Pillsbury because he's a director there."

Dwight says he was sensitive to the appearance of conflict, but accepted the directorship after discussing the dilemma with newspaper executives and editors. "I've given no cause for any discomfort, but I understand that other people's concerns are as valid as my own—that beauty is in the eyes of the beholder," he says now. "I guess the flip answer to a reporter who says my seat on the board is inhibiting would be, 'Well, that's your problem.'"

The ubiquity of the interlocks makes this a tough problem for a reporter to solve alone, however. The density of the connections and the importance of the institutions mean that in many cases a seamless web of interlocks binds newspaper companies to the powerful and newsworthy institutions of the society. The three Ford Motor Company interlocks exemplify the situation:

□ Arjay Miller, a director of The Washington Post Company, used to be Ford's president and now sits on the automaker's board. Recently retired as dean of the Stanford University Graduate School of Business, Miller is also a director of Trans World Airlines, Levi Strauss, and Utah International (a mining company for which General Electric paid a record \$2.1 billion in stock three years ago). Miller also is linked with such important policy-shaping bodies as the Conference Board and the Brookings Institution.

□ Marian Heiskell, the sister of New York Times Company chairman Arthur Ochs Sulzberger and the wife of Time Inc. chairman Andrew Heiskell, sits on the boards of Ford and the *Times*. One of her inter-



locks is with Consolidated Edison, New York's major utility and a subject of frequent controversy. She is also a director of Merck & Company, one of the world's largest pharmaceutical manufacturers.

□Ford director Franklin Murphy was a Times Mirror director even before joining the newspaper company as chairman more than a decade ago. He was then chancellor at UCLA. He is linked not only to Ford but also to the Bank of America, Hallmark Cards, and a number of foundations and civic groups.

"Because of the tremendous shared interests at the top," says Len Ackland, a *Chicago Tribune* business writer, "coverage is limited and certain questions never get asked." Reporters who think about delving into institutional behavior may think twice. They worry about the editing. They worry about being removed from choice beats, or being fired.

"It's going to affect the reporter, I don't care who he is; or it will affect his editors," says James O'Shea, a *Chicago Tribune* reporter who has been business editor of *The Des Moines Register*. "You're more cautious. That's not the way it should be, but that's what happens. A lot of reporters and editors will tell you that it has no effect on them, but I don't believe it."

Most reporters, in fact, do deny that they are influenced by the interlocks, adding in the next breath that they know nothing about them. This presents an anomaly. These same journalists know of the concern over chain ownership, and know that their papers are often controlled by large corporations. But they do not like to think of themselves as corporate employees. Detroit reporters who go to work at 615 Lafayette Boulevard, for example, would rather think of themselves as going to work for *The Detroit News* than for The Evening News Association.

Reporters, moreover, share a particular view of what makes for news. Mark Dowie, who broke the Pinto story in *Mother Jones* in 1977, remembers that the story was available all along to anyone who knew how and where to look for it—even though information on business is generally less accessible than the data on government which reporters are more inclined to ferret out. Dowie also remembers how long it took most newspapers to follow up. "All they wrote was the company line, if they wrote anything at all," he says. Alan Lupo, a former Baltimore *Sun* and *Boston Globe* reporter now with *The Boston Phoenix*, is not surprised. "We're taught, subtly, not to cover the corporate sector and other private institutions the way we cover city hall," he says. "If we think about trying, it seems so complex that we wait a few years. Then we think, what the hell, I'll try it anyway; and an editor who has been brought up in the same way says, 'Let's not try it,' and another few years go by."

### Prevalent and dangerous

Interlocks between newspaper-company management and newsworthy organizations aren't new, of course. But in addition to being more prevalent, today's inter-

locks may be more dangerous. When men like William Randolph Hearst and Robert McCormick almost singlehandedly managed newspaper empires, they were visible; their views were widely known. Today, the Hearst Corporation still bears William Randolph's name, but it is run largely by people unknown to most readers. In Chicago, McCormick is a memory; the Tribune Company is a conglomerate operated by men barely heard of outside the Tribune Tower. Even some *Tribune* reporters couldn't name more than a couple of directors.

Two solutions have been proposed to the problem posed by interlocks. The first, disclosure, would be more beneficial to readers than to reporters and editors, but making public the names and ties of all directors would at least make these facts a matter of public record. Today, the eleven publicly owned companies among the top twenty-five do disclose some corporate interlocks in their annual reports to shareholders. But the disclosure is incomplete. The fourteen privately owned companies make almost no disclosures and respond in widely different ways to public inquiries. Regular yearly reports to readers by all newspaper companies would dispel the mystery.

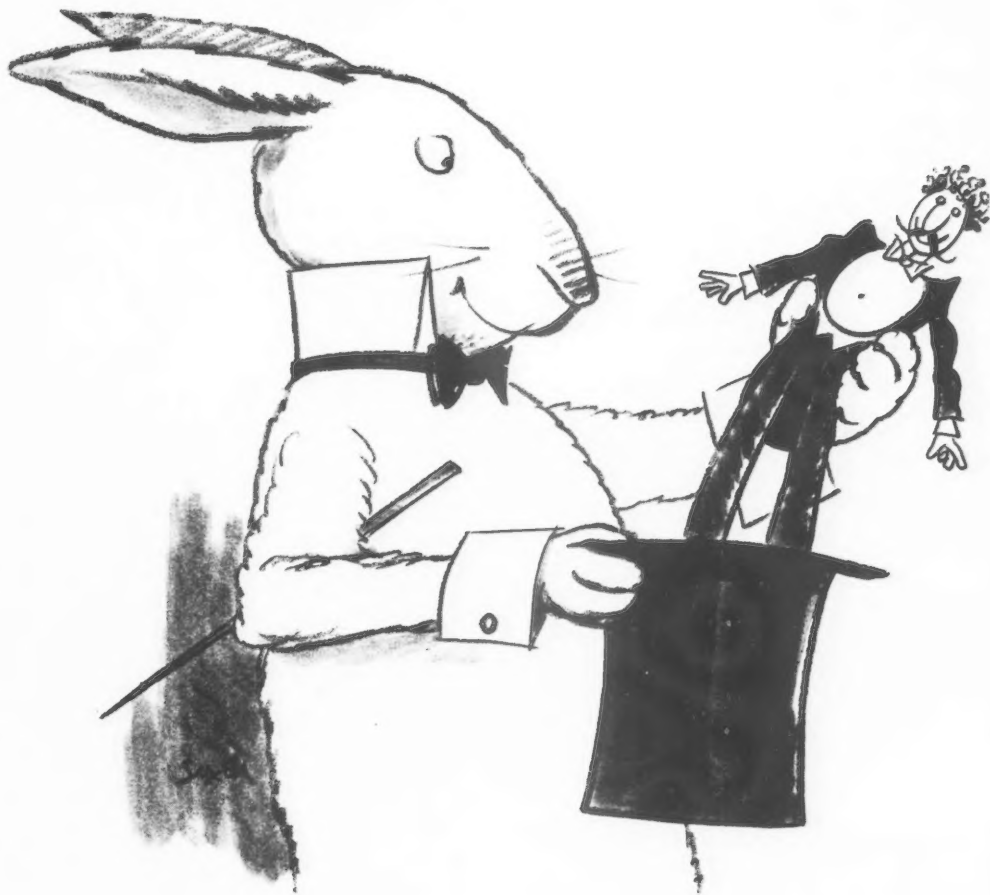
A few newsroom professionals propose another approach — a voluntary ban on interlocks. One is William Trombley, a *Los Angeles Times* reporter who covered UCLA when Murphy was simultaneously chancellor and a Times Mirror director. "Almost any newspaper is a part of the establishment of any city," Trombley says. "This means the paper has natural sympathies with business interests and other vested interests in the community. . . . Independence and integrity are weakened further when newspaper executives accept positions on boards of directors, whether corporate boards or groups as seemingly innocent as the Boy Scouts."

Otis Chandler, Trombley's boss, advocates both disclosure and prohibition. "We practice a double standard when it comes to our own conflicts," he says. Although his sympathy for disclosure has not yet borne fruit in the form of systematic disclosures, he has taken steps to reduce the number of interlocks. At the time of his GeoTek troubles, he dropped his corporate directorships, including seats on the boards of TRW and Pan American World Airways.

Chandler would like to be a pacesetter, but he doesn't have ready solutions. "These are new issues," he says. "They're legitimate, and some are serious. Most of us are muddling along, and we're going to have to confront this. The question is, how far should we go?" Judging by their past practices and recent responses to inquiries, most company managements are not inclined to go very far at the moment. Until pressure mounts to force reexamination of company policies, it will therefore be up to reporters and editors to inform themselves, and then to avoid the potentially chilling effect of having such knowledge. ■



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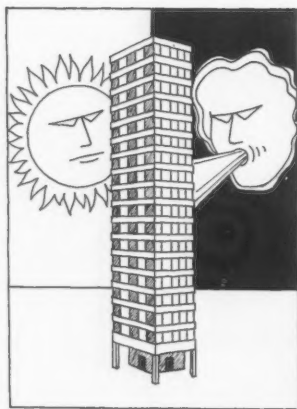
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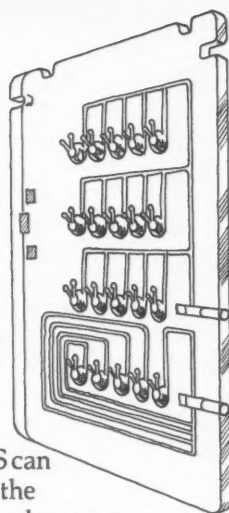
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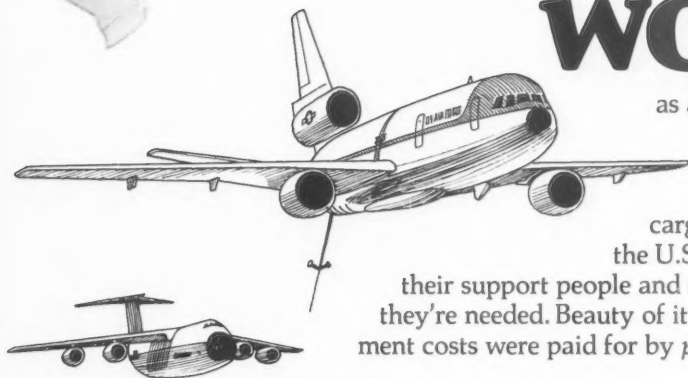
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# Back to the people with

Out where  
the grass roots grow,  
do-it-yourself  
journalists  
are exploring  
the home turf—  
and gaining ground

by CHARLES R. EISENDRATH

**W**hen northern California's tiny (circulation: 3,150) *Point Reyes Light* won a Pulitzer Prize this year for its young owner-editor-reporters, many press watchers were surprised. For a decade, they had been mesmerized by the steady growth of chains. In their absorption with size, they had overlooked a modest but important trend at the other end of the press spectrum, the mom-and-pop press.

For several years now, people like the *Light*'s David and Cathy Mitchell have been nourishing the grass roots of the industry across the country. Typically husband-and-wife teams in their twenties and thirties, they avoid rigid politics, support the idea of small, workable communities, and pour everything they have into intensely local, rather personal coverage. To them, local journalism isn't where you start. It's where you live.

Unlike journalists in the underground press in the 1960s, the newcomers aren't protesting the system; they are trying to make it work. While other editors and publishers often labor for chains and move from town to town with more loyalty to company than locale, the new breed charts satisfactions mostly in terms

*Charles R. Eisendrath, a former Time correspondent, teaches journalism at the University of Michigan, at Ann Arbor. Patrice Flinchbaugh helped gather the research, which was underwritten by The Howard R. Marsh Center for the Study of Journalistic Performance.*

of neighborhood quality and personal involvement. "Sure I want to eat," said one newspaper "mom" while locking up a page recently, "but money really isn't my trip. If it were, there are easier ways to get it than this."

They are likely to be young, since putting out a do-it-yourself paper requires undepletable reservoirs of energy. And they are generally married, because that battered institution offers free labor, staff loyalty, in-house sex, and enough social stability to satisfy the wags of Main Street and those who give out second-class mailing permits. They are also independent—often to the point of being parochial. New publishers in Ann Arbor, Michigan, don't know or care much about people doing the same thing in Plymouth or Caseville; the former Queens College physics professor and his wife, a former New York television producer, who run *The North Fork Times* in Paonia, Colorado, keep no tabs on similar papers in Glenwood Springs, Fort Collins, or Clear Creek. Some couples have either journalistic or business skill; none seems to have both, nor any significant financial resources. This is probably no accident. Nobody who knew the field, or was rich, would willingly submit to the agonies of a mom-and-pop launch.

Don and Mary Hunt, for example, had no idea of what they were doing when they fashioned Volume I, Number One, of the *Ann Arbor Observer* in the Guild House of the First Baptist Church, where they tidied up in return for free lodgings and a small salary. That was in July 1976. Both were thirty-two: he a psychology Ph.D. dropout with no journalistic or business experience, she with no credentials apart from an M.A. in German. "Not only did we use rubber cement for pasteup," recalls Don with a moan, "but it was the wrong kind of rubber cement for anything we wanted to do with it."

By any conventional standard, the *Observer*'s launch should have dou-

bled as a sinking. The paper probably would not have appeared at all had the Hunts researched their chances for success. Checking with the National Newspaper Association would have connected them with a spokesman confident that "it takes \$10,000 to \$20,000 to start a weekly newspaper." The Hunts had \$1,500. Again, even the most rudimentary market analysis would have made clear that there was no need for the Hunts' *Observer*. Special interests within the University of Michigan community were being met by *The New York Times*, delivered on the day of publication, and by the students' feisty *Michigan Daily*. *The Ann Arbor News*, a paper in the Booth chain, had locked up the local retail market years before. To make matters worse, both Detroit's *Free Press* and *News* were mounting major circulation drives in the county. The combination had wiped out no fewer than three "alternative papers," each of them with more solid

*The West Shore Times scene: senior correspondent Richard Steinmetz (left), editor and publisher Philip*



CJR/West Shore Times



# the mom-and-pop press

backing than the *Observer*.

Nor did the Hunts consult experts about news judgment. They ignored everything beyond city limits. They ignored anything that failed to interest them, whether or not others thought it important or a matter of record. When they chose a cover story, they devoted up to half the tabloid when it was a lean twenty-four pages. (It now runs to some sixty pages.) The approach first drew public notice when the Hunts ran a long interview with a drug dealer who explained to a mystified town why it made such an ideal narcotics distribution center. A sensational, nationally covered trial of two Filipino nurses accused of murdering patients at the local Veterans Administration hospital gave the Hunts an even better opening. Coverage elsewhere had left a clear impression of their innocence, provoking cries of racism, sexism, and medical elitism when a jury found them guilty. The Hunts took neither stand. Instead,

*Clark, contributing photographer David Fry, and business manager Eileen Shumaker Clark.*



Don spent 150 hours inspecting the hospital, interviewing jurors and doctors. His 5,000-word piece gave Ann Arbor its most complete and least biased account of a crime that had split the town for months.

People noticed. Mayor Louis Belcher calls the *Observer* "a meaty little newspaper that fills the void created when *The Ann Arbor News* grew regional in scope and superficial in local coverage." Even the *News* itself seems impressed. Editor Herbert Spendlove, who arrived from another paper in the Booth chain soon after the *Observer's* launch, confides, "I'm impressed as hell. Their concentration on single issues sometimes carries a bigger impact than what we try to do daily." That is quite a compliment. The *News* has a full-time editorial staff of forty-four. The *Observer* has two. The Hunts' free circulation of 33,000 (quadruple the original figure) attracts ad revenues of \$17,000 per monthly issue, enough to let the proprietors draw equal salaries totaling \$16,800 yearly, as well as to hire three part-time writers. But the most impressive indicator of success arrived in September. Mary gave birth to son Sam, an issue who until recently they would not have had time to put to bed.

On June 11, 1977, a Saturday, Philip and Eileen Clark took the day off. They got married. It was their first holiday since buying the *West Shore Times* in Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania, as a sort of reciprocal engagement present in April, and it was to be their last for some time to come. Sunday they were back at work, as they have been nearly every Sunday since they plunked down the proceeds of a modest loan from a bank in nearby Lebanon, where Philip had covered education for the *Daily News*.

They had faced a market even more congested than Ann Arbor's. Three dailies circulated in the area, as well as a couple of strong shoppers; ten radio stations and three tele-

vision channels provided a healthy broadcast diet. But no one else covered the suburbs across the Susquehanna from Harrisburg the way the Clarks did, perhaps because their livelihoods were not so delicately balanced. The *Times* threw its entire resources (\$100) into exposing an illegal telephone con, then turned from local politics to the nuclear mishap at Three Mile Island.

Eileen tends books in a chilly back room of their pre-Civil War storefront. They live above the shop. Last year, by living simply, doubling gross revenues by hustling up local ads, and raising paid circulation of the austere, sixteen-page weekly to 2,500, the Clarks wrung out net profits of \$4,500. That might not impress Gannett, or even provide much relief from a schedule Eileen calls "just plain murder," but the *Times's* biggest rewards are unbuyable, and the Clarks have them in abundance. How many mayors call their local paper "the objective voice of the town"? And while borough manager David Sultzaberger doesn't always agree with what the Clarks print about his snow-removal and police operations, he respects their focus and their thoroughness. "We can't walk out the door without being covered," he says with obviously mixed feelings. "It's so local that if a war ended you would be lucky to find out in the *West Shore Times*. It's less glamor-seeking and less sensationalistic, though, than the regional papers, and not so hung up on the things that go bad." Recently, all local media reported the police chief's heart attack, notes Sultzaberger pointedly, "but only the *West Shore Times* ran his picture when he got well."

Far from the comforts of college towns and the urbanized East, the mom-and-pop renaissance has taken hold in the pocket communities of Colorado's Rocky Mountains. In the spring of 1976, a twenty-nine-year-old unpublished novelist named Jim Files was editing the diminutive, un-

distinguished weekly *Star-News* in Kankakee, Illinois, when he found himself strangely stirred by an ad in *Editor & Publisher*:

WE WANT TO BUILD THE BEST WEEKLY ON THE WESTERN SLOPE OF THE ROCKIES. LONG HOURS. LOW PAY.

Files got two quick surprises. The first was that 400 other people wanted that unattractive job; second, the publisher who offered it knew no more about the business side of newspapers than did the unpublished novelist. At thirty-seven, Bob Cox had knocked around Colorado with UPI and daily newspapers. His wife, Linda, twenty-seven, had written for Boulder's *Colorado Business* magazine. "That made us think we knew what we were doing," says Linda with characteristic directness. "We didn't, of course."

That became absolutely clear to Bob during what he thought had been a meticulously planned conversion from paid to free circulation. "Believe it or not," he remembers with evident wonder, "I had convinced myself that the Mormon church was going to distribute the paper for me as a way of helping its members work off their tithing obligations. It wasn't totally crazy; a couple in Fort Collins told us the Mormons did a great job for them." It didn't work in Glenwood Springs. Bob's mother, visiting from Florida, found herself on red alert at the sewing machine, stitching flowered pillowcases into carrier bags while Files and the Coxes rounded up delivery boys in the mountain town's streets.

Things improved. Unhappy with *The Sage Reminder* logo ("We hated being named after a bush"), the Coxes substituted the more trendy *The Weekly Newspaper*. Files, awarded a 5 percent stake in the enterprise when the bosses couldn't come up with a cash bonus, tied into major local stories. TWN broke the report that actress Claudine Longet had taken cocaine shortly before the fatal shooting of her lover, a professional skier named Vladimir (Spider) Sabich, in a notorious Aspen crime. Stories on regional gasoline price-fixing produced a grand jury

investigation and settlement by four oil companies. When TWN demonstrated that Mid-Continent Coal and Coke Corporation was building a drying facility without proper pollution-control permits, the Environmental Protection Agency intervened, delaying construction of a \$1 million plant planned by the biggest employer in the area.

Many Garfield County residents admire this sort of thing. Glenwood Police Chief Bob Halbert thinks TWN is just plain "more concerned and more accurate" than other papers in the area, beginning with the daily *Glenwood Post*. "The daily uses a lot of national news and glosses over local things. *The Weekly Newspaper* man [as Files is known] will come in here and sit down and want to know the reasons behind what has happened."

In place of *The Sage Reminder*'s 700 paid subscribers, TWN now distributes 12,500 free copies of a twenty-eight-page paper, which is more than twice the *Reminder*'s size. Revenues are sufficient to pay editor Files \$1,200 a month, attract a purchase offer of \$250,000, and, perhaps most impressively, permit the Coxes a degree of personal freedom. They now live in Denver, where Bob dabbles in politics and Linda attends law school between commutes to Glenwood Springs to check the health of "our baby."

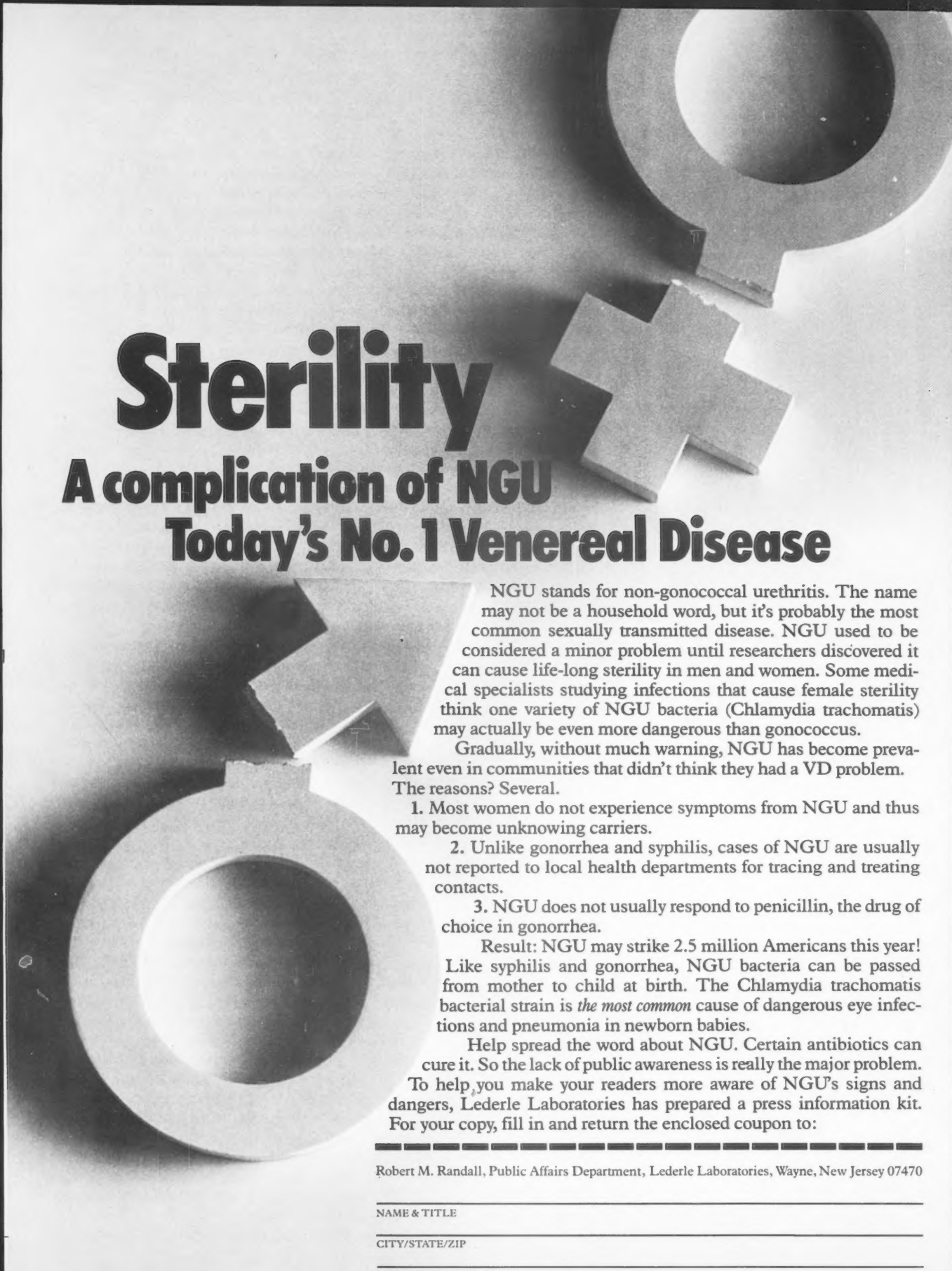
**E**stimates of the number of mom-and-pop papers that have sprung up across the country range from dozens to scores. Nobody knows for sure because the newcomers don't care much about such things and, at least according to them, state press associations lock them out, fearing yet another source of competition on top of shoppers and television. Some resentment may be in order. The mom-and-pop press is being aided by powerful forces independent of individual talent and dedication.

The same technology that is costing existing large-circulation dailies millions of dollars to introduce is also dropping entry costs of newspapering to what it costs to buy a second-hand Ford sedan. It has never

been easier to start up without costly equipment, particularly for typesetting and printing, and production is now routinely jobbed out to presses scattered conveniently over the countryside. All that are needed now are human energy and intelligence, which the right kind of proprietors furnish for themselves, free of charge.

Demographic shifts have helped, too. A generation that thinks smaller is better has been pouring from cities to rural areas at the rate of 300,000 a year—one of the greatest migrations since frontier days. Growing twice as fast as the big places, the boondocks are in flower. Many émigrés are young, skilled, and passionately concerned about local schools, local crime, local pollution—after all, they pulled up their city roots when those things became unmanageable. Already, they are present in numbers sufficient to constitute a highly motivated cadre of readers and, increasingly, advertisers. And the pace is still quickening. National Opinion Research Center polls continue to show that, given a choice, two of three Americans would like to live someplace with fewer than 50,000 inhabitants. The movement fuels itself. More affluence and education draw better services, which in turn attract more settlers.

But the best reason for jitters in the ranks of state press associations has little to do with technology or demographics. Surveys indicate simply that readers don't love them anymore. Most recently, a report by Ruth Clark of Yankelovich, Skelly, and White to the American Society of Newspaper Editors demonstrated that communities want something done about what they consider "aloofness" and "remoteness" in their newspapers. Specifically, they want help in controlling local institutions, understanding their lives, even making their purchases. Most important, they demand news about their neighbors and themselves—especially positive news. The mom-and-pop press has fewer such problems. It doesn't need experts to know what Main Street wants. It is Main Street. ■



# Sterility

## A complication of NGU

### Today's No. 1 Venereal Disease

NGU stands for non-gonococcal urethritis. The name may not be a household word, but it's probably the most common sexually transmitted disease. NGU used to be considered a minor problem until researchers discovered it can cause life-long sterility in men and women. Some medical specialists studying infections that cause female sterility think one variety of NGU bacteria (*Chlamydia trachomatis*) may actually be even more dangerous than gonococcus.

Gradually, without much warning, NGU has become prevalent even in communities that didn't think they had a VD problem. The reasons? Several.

1. Most women do not experience symptoms from NGU and thus may become unknowing carriers.

2. Unlike gonorrhea and syphilis, cases of NGU are usually not reported to local health departments for tracing and treating contacts.

3. NGU does not usually respond to penicillin, the drug of choice in gonorrhea.

Result: NGU may strike 2.5 million Americans this year!

Like syphilis and gonorrhea, NGU bacteria can be passed from mother to child at birth. The *Chlamydia trachomatis* bacterial strain is the most common cause of dangerous eye infections and pneumonia in newborn babies.

Help spread the word about NGU. Certain antibiotics can cure it. So the lack of public awareness is really the major problem.

To help, you make your readers more aware of NGU's signs and dangers, Lederle Laboratories has prepared a press information kit. For your copy, fill in and return the enclosed coupon to:

Robert M. Randall, Public Affairs Department, Lederle Laboratories, Wayne, New Jersey 07470

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AFFILIATION



# The American card

Bob Hope's road show was meant to be funny. But the Chinese weren't laughing

by ORVILLE SCHELL

**T**he Chinese had had no experience dealing with Westerners when the Jesuit Father Matteo Ricci first arrived outside of the Heavenly Gate of Peace in 1601. The first European to breach the vermilion walls of the Imperial City and enter the Great Within, he alighted from his sedan chair without fanfare, bearing a small clavichord, two clocks, some hourglasses, and a few alleged bits of the Holy Cross as gifts for the Wan-li emperor.

Ricci's trip was no spur-of-the-moment affair. Before he was allowed to journey to Peking he had waited in the provinces of China for eighteen years. By the time he arrived, this tactful and accommodating man spoke fluent Chinese and had completely adopted Chinese dress and customs. In a country that had always strenuously excluded foreign "barbarians" and their ideas, Matteo Ricci's acceptance by the Chinese was an extraordinary feat. His welcome signaled the end of China's defensive isolation from the technologically more advanced peoples of the West.

On Sunday, September 16, 1979, another era of Chinese isolation drew to a close when Bob Hope, swinging a golf club and sporting a Mao cap and two-tone shoes, hoofed down the Great Wall in his NBC-TV special *On the Road to China*. The show, although staged and no doubt viewed by its vast American audience of twenty-seven million as entertainment, was more than that. It conveyed one powerful, if subliminal, image of what China is now all about. The three hours of one-line humor, of friendly and puzzled Chinese faces, of cross-cultural song and dance, was in fact a certain kind of oblique journalism. Bob Hope was not so much on the road as on a beat. Like Ricci, he had had his troubles getting in, and it was only after men like Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, and Henry Kissinger had written the Chinese government on his behalf that the Chinese invited the aging comic to come take a look; but they did invite him and they put extraordinary resources at his command.

*He begins, suitably enough, by singing a question. From the Great Wall, to the accompaniment of "chop-chop" music, Hope croons: We're off on the road to China, who knows what we're goin' to find. . . .*

*Hope next appears, golf club in hand, standing exactly at the spot where Ricci entered the Gate of*

*Orville Schell is the author of In the People's Republic.*

*Heavenly Peace 378 years ago; we quickly learn what we're goin' to find. After a few China gags about the laundry service at the Peking Hotel, and a quaint reference to menus, we know that China is about to be reduced to a muddle of smug and reassuring pre-1949 clichés.*

*Turning his back to the Forbidden City, "Ole Ski Nose" spits out a flood of one-liners. Chinese workers passing by on bicycles stare in wonderment at this tall geriatric Caucasian in makeup. There is no laughter, but never mind—NBC has added a laugh track right off of Laverne and Shirley.*

*"Hey! This is it! Peking, China," exclaims Hope. "Amazing, isn't it? Just ten years ago, who would have dreamt that an American comedian would be standing here in Tien An Men Square saying whatever he pleased?"*

*"Take a look at it! That's Tien An Men Square, the biggest square in the world," he proclaims proudly, pointing out across its expanse with his golf club. "It looks just like Jackie Gleason's patio," he deadpans. Later, he becomes enthusiastic about the Forbidden City. "It looks like Caesar's Palace without the slot machines," he confides. The comparison, obviously, is as insulting to the Chinese as telling a Roman Catholic that St. Peter's looks just like the Houston Astrodome without the hotdog stands.*

**H**ope's humor and political acuity suggest a man whose intellect has been suspended in frozen animation for the last thirty years and thawed for this inauspicious occasion. His presence here at the center of both revolutionary and traditional Chinese civilization is a perfection of incongruity which at once repels and fascinates. In its program notes NBC boasts that "Bob Hope helped China and the United States take a giant step toward bringing the two countries still closer together culturally. . . ." But, in truth, it is more of a giant cultural collision.

I suppose it is that part of myself which long admired the resistance of the Chinese Communists to the homogenizing effects of capitalist culture that is saddened by this NBC special. It was not that Chinese Communist culture was superior, or for that matter, even particularly vibrant. It was the insular valiance of the Chinese that was impressive, the way they held back from dissolving themselves in Western culture and losing the sense of Chinese identity. "We must have our own distinctive style, something that is





# plays China

unique," Mao had written in 1956. "For Chinese people, our own things should remain primary."

Even though it is we rather than the Chinese who are responsible for Hope's Chinese Gong Show—he is our creation, not theirs—one cannot deny that China seems somehow diminished by the encounter. A small but important part of Peking, and China itself, seems to have surrendered in the confrontation with Bob Hope and the American media, suggesting that in reacting against the cultural fascism of the Gang of Four, China's leaders may have too quickly forgotten Mao's admonition, "The first problem is: literature and art, for whom?"

*Only the presence of Mikhail Baryshnikov, the Russian ballet dancer, and the several purely Chinese acts bring any relief to this bizarre phantasmagoria. They evoke the sense of artistic fraternity that is so absent from the rest of the road show. But as each of these segments ends, Hope thunders back.*

*The Great Wall of China: "It's an unbelievable sight. It's the greatest job of construction this side of Raquel Welch."*

*"Who is Raquel Welch?" inquires the interpreter.*

*"She also plays Caesar's Palace," retorts Hope, and then pushes right on with his monologue without waiting for the Chinese translation.*

*There is no need for a translation, of course. These jokes aren't meant for the Chinese. The handpicked Chinese officials scattered among the crowd of Western diplomats in Peking's Capital Theatre are just extras—authentic native color used to reassure the millions of viewers back home that this most recent incarnation of Hope's On The Road series has not just been shot on some back lot at Paramount.*

*Hope plugs on. He tells a joke about being sold a rice paddy in the Gobi Desert. There is no laughter when it is translated into Chinese. He tries one about putting soy sauce in his morning prune juice. The Westerners laugh; the Chinese look as if they wished that they could laugh out of politeness, but cannot find reason to do so.*

*Although it is difficult to imagine how Hope can surpass himself, he has already done so. Earlier in the show, the TV screen had been filled with shots of the majestic Temple of Heaven, built by the Yung-lo emperor in 1420 to perform sacrifices to ensure that heaven and earth would maintain their balance during the coming year. Lest famine and flood plague the land after the winter solstice, foreigners were excluded from these solemn observances.*

*"One of the events that they [the emperors] never anticipated," Hope announces, "was the appearance one day of a harmonious pair who bring the blessing of disco to these beautiful surroundings."*

*Suddenly a driving disco beat picks up and the*

*cameras pan in on Peaches and Herb, a black disco duo, standing in front of the Temple's altar. They snap their fingers, mug at each other, and belt out their pop-chart hit "We've Got Love." Later in the show, the same pair appears at the Capitol Theatre singing "Reunited," a song of heartbreak and desire touted by NBC as performed "in honor of the resumption of relations between China and the United States."*

"Against a background of flashing lights, Peaches appeared in a see-through pants suit," NBC's program notes report. "We don't do things like that here," the notes record one Peking onlooker as saying, "but it was good to see it in order to understand your culture."

Indeed, see-through pants suits and the big beat in the Temple of Heaven may represent a vital aspect of our culture. And I suppose that a case could be made for Bob Hope's special as a kind of initiation rite for those Chinese officials who wish to understand their new ally, *Meiguo*, America, or literally, "the beautiful country." But even these officials finally had to request that Hope censor the segment of his show that made light of the posters at Democracy Wall, and later asked him to drop a joke about maotai wine being so strong that "One drink, and my head had a cultural revolution." Still, as I watch the show, I wonder whether the next stage in Sino-American cultural exchange will be a Dean Martin Roast of Deng Xiaoping, or a *Playboy* bunny spreadeagled on the Ming Tombs.

**M**uch time has passed since those relatively uncomplicated days when Matteo Ricci arrived in Peking. Lamentably, much of the history of that time has been one of Western armies, traders, and evangelists invading China. Exploitation, humiliation, and resentment are the three words which most aptly sum up that history. And although subtler than gunboats, avaricious traders, and righteous missionaries, Bob Hope and his cliché-ridden humor share the same mind set, viewing China with a certain affection, but seeing it primarily as a natural resource to be capitalized on.

Bob Hope was in China obeying the programming imperatives of American television and there was no one but the Chinese to rein him in. But they did very little of that, and as a result it looks as if China is being strip-mined by American video. It is a great irony that China, which has spent so much energy presenting a "correct" face to the world, should now be reflected to the American people, thanks to NBC, in the distorting surface of Bob Hope's fun-house mirror. The Chinese have often been gracious hosts, and they were on this occasion, too. But we should be careful. There is still a rawness, a bruised quality to the Chinese psyche, which can be easily offended by the intrusion of foreign influences and our often careless and exploitative Western ways. ■

# It's Pay Up Or Quit.

**F**or Ollie Robinson and 36 co-workers for the Housing Authority of Kansas City, Mo., the wheels of justice rolled, but slowly.

Without the help of a national legal foundation they might not have rolled at all.

When Ollie Robinson first came to work for the Housing Authority in 1960, there was no union. Robinson voluntarily joined the union in 1966, when it came in, because he believed workers needed the protection of strong labor unions.

All new employees hired by the Housing Authority after July, 1966, for maintenance jobs were forced to join the union and pay dues to keep their jobs. "I didn't have any idea," says Robinson that "the requirement to join was illegal." He didn't know that Missouri state law prohibits public officials and unions from requiring public employees to join a union to work for their own government.

But one day Ollie Robinson and his co-workers started paying more attention to "their" union. Officials doubled their dues—without asking them.

Robinson and his co-workers tried to resign from the union but were told they couldn't.

They had no money for a lawyer. Many were afraid of losing their jobs.

Finally, one of them contacted the National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation and the wheels of justice started moving. A law suit was filed. The Housing Authority quickly agreed to a consent decree—permanently preventing it from requiring employees to maintain union membership to keep their jobs.

The union, however, did not join in the decree. Five years of litigation were necessary to force the union to heed the law. Finally, in 1979 the Housing Authority employees received refunds of the union dues illegally taken from them.

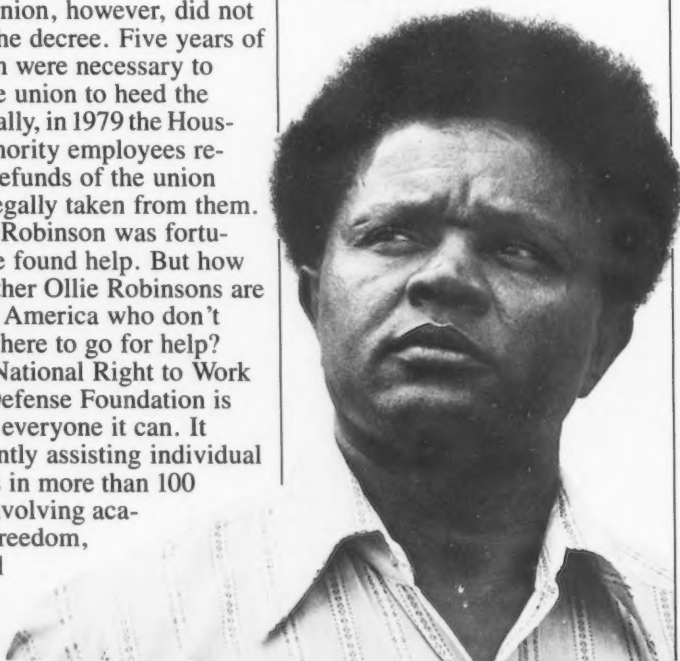
Ollie Robinson was fortunate. He found help. But how many other Ollie Robinsons are there in America who don't know where to go for help?

The National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation is helping everyone it can. It is currently assisting individual workers in more than 100 cases involving academic freedom, political

freedom, freedom from union violence, and the right to work for government without paying a private organization for that privilege.

For more information on how you can help workers like Ollie Robinson write:

The National Right to Work  
Legal Defense Foundation  
Suite 600  
8316 Arlington Boulevard  
Fairfax, Va. 22038



# BOOKS

## Wills tells all

### Confessions of a Conservative

by Garry Wills. Doubleday. 231 pp. \$10.

by PETER STEINFELS

Less than ten years ago, when Charles Kadushin summoned the wonderful powers of social science to produce a definitive list of "The Seventy Most Prestigious Contemporary Intellectuals" in America, Garry Wills was not among them. Who doubts that he would be high on such a list today? A frequent contributor to *The New York Review of Books*, a regular at *New York* and *The New York Times Book Review* as well, a syndicated columnist, and the author of five books in nine years, Wills is the master of any number of genres. He reports presidential politics, interviews candidates, opinionizes, and analyzes. He reviews opera, discourses on boxing, explicates shifts in Roman Catholicism, and debates scholarly points about eighteenth-century cultural history—the Scottish Enlightenment, Jefferson, Revolutionary-era art, and Adam Smith. Wills has seemed willing, and of course able, to explain absolutely everything except—until now—himself.

Demands that he explain himself have not been without grounds. Once a regular writer for William F. Buckley, Jr.'s *National Review*, Wills entered the 1970s as a defender of antiwar militants like the Berigans and a scourge of Cold War liberals. His introduction to Lillian

Hellman's *Scoundrel Time*, damning liberals for their connivance in the inception and growth of McCarthyism, recalled to me my own first encounter with Wills in 1964 when he fervently defended Joe McCarthy's anticommunist contribution to American politics. Diana Trilling made the point in *We Must March My Darlings*. Quoting some of Wills's Cold War rhetoric from 1959 and noting the tone of "moral bookkeeping" in his introduction to *Scoundrel Time*, she suggested that his own accounts were not in order. Trilling did not challenge Wills's privilege to change his mind but the propriety of his doing so without any explanation. Buckley

did this, too, when he offered to print an antiwar essay by Wills in the *National Review* only if Wills would include an account of how he came to reject his earlier views on America's vocation as worldwide combatant of communism.

*Confessions of a Conservative* is a belated reply to such requests as Buckley's and, by implication, such criticism as Trilling's. It is a fascinating, entertaining, and intellectually stimulating book. But I doubt that it will satisfy Wills's interrogators. To begin with, this is not a "confession" in the various traditions of St. Augustine, Rousseau, the New Journalism, or *True Confessions*. Although the first sec-



Fred Marshall

*Peter Steinfels is executive editor of Commonweal magazine and author of the recently published The Neoconservatives: The Men Who Are Changing American Politics.*

The evidence had been growing for years.

But it took a recent documented report of the U.S. Census Bureau to break the story: Over 90% of the people in nursing homes are satisfied with their care and their surroundings.

Ninety percent! And that approval figure is even higher for their next-of-kin.

The nursing homes that are members of the American

## It took the Government to break this story.

Health Care Association think this report—an objective review of residents' satisfaction with nursing home surroundings—is front page news. Not because it breaks a new story. But because it breaks an old stereotype. And for the families who need professional nursing home care, it will help break through the confusion and uncertainty that often is associated with this emotional decision.



For more information on the Census Bureau report, or progress by America's professional nursing homes, contact:

**ahca**

Community Affairs, American Health Care Association, 1200 15th St. N.W. Washington, D.C. 20005



tion is a colorful and instructive memoir of Wills's entanglement in the "cat's cradle of schemes and crossing egos" at the *National Review*, there is little effort to communicate the emotional, as distinct from the intellectual, turmoil of his separation from that world. In addition, Wills has relaxed none of the talents for paradox displayed in *Nixon Agonistes*—the argument that the "apolitical" Eisenhower was a consummate politician or that the liberal-baiting Nixon was the last true liberal. In *Confessions*, Wills not only maintains that his recent evolution is by no means in the direction of liberalism or radicalism. He insists that, by shedding his earlier Cold War mentality, he has only now become a true conservative. "Confession" thus takes on its double meaning: a profession of faith and an admission of past failure to live up to that faith.

Two great discoveries marked his political education in the late 1960s. One was that the spirit of Cold War crusading was utterly at odds with his own belief in gradualist, "accommodationist" politics. His second discovery was that the "crazies" and the "saints" are essential to political well-being, for, after all, without their ideas we would simply not possess much of the moral heritage it is the conservative's concern to protect. "Resisted changes of a deep sort begin with a few uncompromising fools who just know that slavery is *wrong*, or that voting is a woman's right; that Jim Crow laws are a disgrace, or that the Vietnam War is immoral.... Yesterday's radicalism becomes today's common sense." So Wills reversed his earlier condemnation of civil disobedience and his earlier dismissal of those "outside the system."

What, then, are the continuities justifying Wills's claim to be a conservative? To begin with, there is that "accommodationist" view of politics. Following Augustine, Wills believes that what holds the state together is common affections, not its embodiment of justice. Earthly peace and not earthly perfection

ought to be its aim. Citizens should not expect too much from politics. Politicians in a democracy like ours will inevitably blur issues, evade commitments, and muddle toward the middle. At most, elections confirm changes already introduced; they never provide the Great Debate of liberal dreams. This, in fact, is fine with Wills: "I don't believe our politics works the way liberal theory claims. And I admire the system's workings because they guarantee coherence and continuity: they soften difference and mute change, so it may enter the social body as nutriment, not as a knifeblade. These surely are conservative values."

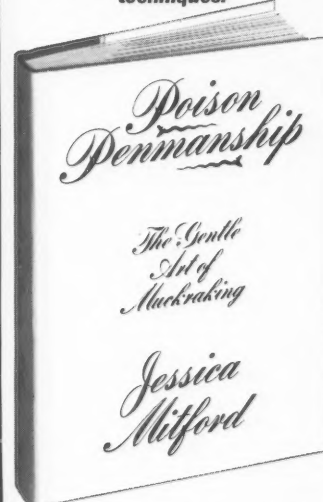
**F**or Wills, politics is also an elitist matter. Working politicians are one elite; the experts they hire and the bureaucrats who implement policy are other elites. Business leaders constitute our dominant elite. The prophet and the do-gooder may be the leaven in this dough, but they, too, are inevitably an elite. The ordinary citizen can do little more than pass after-the-fact judgments on the various policies produced by the "privileged": "Elites are not checked by the masses. They can be checked only by other elites." The bureaucrats regulate the businessmen; the politicians hold the country together; the prophets make it worth holding together.

A final continuity of Wills's thought is his antipathy to liberalism. In *Bare Ruined Choirs* he ridiculed liberal Catholics while giving radical ones all the good lines. In *Nixon Agonistes* he made liberalism a gift of the man it had supposed was its archenemy. And in his introduction to *Scoundrel Time* Wills summarily dismissed "the mere xenophobes and semiparanoids—understandable types, and so no problem"—in order to direct his attack at *liberal* complicity with McCarthyism.

James Finn, editor of *Worldview*, has observed that Wills can best be understood as someone who "passed from being a conservative to being a

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—Craig Flournoy,  
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## BOOKS

radical without ever going through the stage of being a liberal." Wills obviously disagrees about the radical part but not about the rest. "I am certainly not a liberal," he insists in *Confessions*.

But what if—paradox upon paradox—he actually is? To be sure, much depends on what one means by that slippery term. There is no mistaking Wills for the kind of reformer who yearns to make politics a transparently rational business. Still, his theory of contending elites does strongly resemble the notion of pluralism that dominated mainstream liberal thought in the 1950s: the common good does not emerge from the rational choices of individual voters but from the self-interested bargains struck by various countervailing groups. Like Wills, these fifties liberals were determined to look beyond civics-text theories of democracy and see how our politics really operated. Like Wills, generally pleased with the outcome of American politics, they moved from the descriptive to the normative level. Like Wills, they were satisfied with the elite nature of group bargaining and praised compromise as a political virtue. And, like Wills, they held to the classic liberal premise that politics was essentially a *defensive* activity, a necessary evil, not a means for fulfilling human potential. Real creativity is to be sought and found in private life, which politics is meant to secure and protect.

Obviously there is irony in Wills's resemblance to the moderate liberals he has so often scorned, previously because they were not vigorous anticommunist crusaders, more recently because they were. Moreover, the same criticism of liberalism that Wills, following many others, articulated in *Nixon Agonistes* turns out to apply to his own political theory: it rests on an act of faith that the "invisible hand" will produce the common good out of the single-minded pursuit of self-interest by conflicting forces—in this case groups rather than the atomized individuals of classic "market" imag-

ery. But why assume that the groups are in anything like a proper balance? Or that these elites will, in fact, check one another, thereby safeguarding the interests of the rest of the citizens, rather than reinforce each other's power?

Where Wills parts company with the pluralist liberals of the 1950s, and what has given him the reputation of being a "radical," is, of course, his inclusion of the "crazies"—the prophets—as legitimate contenders in the political marketplace. "A modest politics," he writes, "is only a blessing if it makes room for the immodest claims of conscience outside the essentially compromising political arena." But it was precisely those who made immodest claims of conscience whom the moderate liberals of a quarter-century past were bent on excluding. "Utopian," "absolutist," "moralism" were bad words. The forces in American history that had challenged the rules of the game—abolitionists, feminists, and populists—were dismissed as either eccentrics or demagogues.

One could narrow in on the difference here between Wills and the liberals: the latter, in their concern to distinguish between "responsible" and "irresponsible" political actors, no doubt drew the lines too narrowly, but Wills has not met many problems of the line-drawing variety, since he is disinclined to draw any lines at all. And thus he begs some crucial questions. If prophesy gets translated into policy not because society is persuaded of a new idea but because it needs to appease a nuisance, why shouldn't the victory always go to the biggest nuisances? Why should society make concessions to uncompromising antiwar clergymen but not to uncompromising anticommunist ones? At what point are the crazies no longer prophets but only crazies, or, in the sort of language 1950s pluralists loved, "mere xenophobes and semiparanoids"?

The fact that Wills, no slouch at making nice distinctions when he

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wants to, does not pursue these issues reveals broader differences of standpoint between him and the older liberals; and those, in fact, indicate why Wills is such an interesting and useful presence in today's intellectual world. For the older liberals wrote against an essentially *continental* backdrop; if they were content with American politics, that was because America had escaped the descent into totalitarianism that marked the thirties in Europe. Likewise, the intellectual backdrop for these writers was the great canon of modern social thought—Marx, Weber, Durkheim, and Freud—and the heritage of those two rebel movements, socialism and psychoanalysis. To read *Confessions of a Conservative* is at once to enter another world. Here the references are St. Augustine, Samuel Johnson, Cardinal Newman, John Ruskin, and G.K. Chesterton. The history is strictly American, and mainly from the Cold War to the counterculture. The intellectual heritage is Catholic.

These differences are crucial. Behind liberal pluralism, for example, there usually lurked one or another theory of "mass society"; the rise of European totalitarian movements had, rightly or wrongly, left these liberals with a deep uneasiness about the susceptibility of the "masses" to fanatic movements. For Wills, on the other hand, most people are naturally conservative; they resist change and will be driven to it, and then only minimally, by the prophets—who are far more likely to be tarred and feathered than to be crowned. From his own background in postwar Catholicism, Wills knows the depth of American anticommunism; therefore he cannot take seriously the recurring fear of New York intellectuals that America stands in some danger of doctrinal subversion.

I believe that in his Augustinian view of human creativity Wills could find grounds for a less elitist and more positive theory of politics. I regret that he so seldom makes contact with the European experience which informs so much contempo-

rary political anxiety: how often, reading his celebration of the inertia of American politics, I was reminded of the French Third Republic stalemating its way to military defeat and moral degradation! I find him straining to keep his distance from a liberalism with which his own thinking, for both better and worse, has much in common.

Nonetheless, his is a new perspective—American but not rooted in populism or Progressivism, conservative but not forged in last-ditch battling against the New Deal, Catholic but not nostalgic for medieval Christendom, open to change and social conflict but not raised in the nurseries of Marxism. Perhaps I am yielding to his own theory of mutually checking elites, but the emergence of Wills as a major voice in American intellectual debate strikes me as an altogether healthy event.

## Twilight of the demigods

### Coups and Earthquakes: Reporting the World for America

by Mort Rosenblum. Harper & Row. 230 pp. \$10.95

by SANFORD J. UNGAR

Every reporter who has served abroad has his or her best tales of horror and humor. One of my own favorites dates back to the late 1960s, when I was working in a wire service bureau in Paris.

Armistice Day, November 11, is, naturally enough, a major holiday in France. That meant both a ceremonial wreath-laying at the tomb of the unknown soldier under the *Arc de Triomphe* and a day off for almost everyone in the bureau. The main story of the day, in fact, was generally the ceremony at the *Arc*. It was predictable and dull, but Charles de Gaulle took it seriously

*Sanford J. Ungar, managing editor of Foreign Policy and a contributing editor of The Atlantic Monthly, has been a correspondent in Europe and Africa.*

and performed his duties with enough flourish to make them worth a few paragraphs and a night lead.

Things being what they were—the resources of the office being stretched thin and all that—on this particular occasion *nôtre général* was covered not by a body dispatched to the scene by *métro*, but by the unlucky soul who had drawn desk duty for the day. At the appointed hour, following standard operating procedure, he simply switched on the battered old office television set, confident that the government-controlled network would provide more than ample material for a story rich in detail and authenticity.

Rich was not the word for it, as it turned out. My colleague could not believe his eyes: there went de Gaulle, down the line of the diplomatic corps, and when he got to the Canadian ambassador he seemed to keep right on going, not stopping to shake his hand or greet him. A snub. Had the president bitten a nearby dog, it could not have been more of a news story. De Gaulle had recently been encouraging separatist elements in Quebec, and he now appeared to have taken things even further. Out went a BULLETIN, followed by the obligatory URGENT. Not bad for a boring Armistice Day.

The story cleared London and New York. The rockets started to come back only after it hit Ottawa: the Department of External Affairs, queried by Canadian newspapers, was denying the snub. The Canadian ambassador to Paris, it seemed, was insisting that his palm had been graced by the general's. Our man at the TV set, however, swore that it had not.

It took days for the flap to subside. Before it did, the bureau chief was summoned to the headquarters of the television network to screen a tape of the ceremony. The Quai d'Orsay got involved. There were hushed conferences, hints of reprimands, and muttered predictions about the agency's future with its Canadian clients. What we all knew, but did not dare discuss outside the



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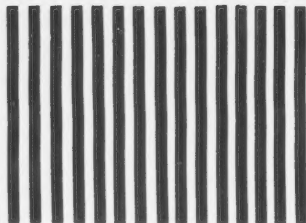
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*Amidst exquisite chaos: Rosenblum in Singapore in 1971*

hallowed walls of our office (which, by the way, had not been painted since before World War II), was that our man at the set was a fierce Canadian nationalist with questionable eyesight, who was convinced that de Gaulle was out to destroy his country.

So it goes in the glamorous and glorious annals of foreign correspondence. Mort Rosenblum, who has worked for The Associated Press in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Europe, has seen more of it than most. Now editor of the *International Herald Tribune*, he has assembled his and others' best yarns—and the results of a year's study sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations—into a neat, if pretentiously subtitled, little book. It is unclear whether it is intended more as an insider's amusement or as a kind of consumer's guide, but it works reasonably well both ways.

Rosenblum clearly believes that there is no higher calling than that of the foreign correspondent. His

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composite portrait is one of a delightful, rakish, frustrated, but incredibly hardworking band, dedicated to seeking the truth but often prevented from finding it by a combination of its own foibles and the world's craziness. There is a good deal of anthropology of the profession here, a bit of pop sociology, and—for the uninitiated—some nuts-and-bolts explanations of why Americans get only a mediocre picture of the world and how they might get a better one. The prognosis is not encouraging, for Rosenblum conveys the impression that except in a few quality outlets (and not always there), careful reporting and meaningful analysis from overseas are not welcomed in U.S. journalism. The folks at home—both in the newsrooms and the living rooms—would just as soon have easy, stereotypical coverage of the coups and earthquakes.

A number of other conclusions that emerge from the book are buttressed by recent experience:

□ The American news media—and

the Western press generally—are hopelessly vulnerable to manipulation. Idi Amin proved this to an alarming extent, getting himself a degree of attention far out of proportion to his significance (an attention that may actually have strengthened and prolonged his power, but certainly fueled negative stereotypes of Africans). While reams of copy and endless footage were expended on Amin, other African news both good (the transition back to civilian rule in Nigeria) and bad (the brutal reign of Francisco Macias Nguema in Equatorial Guinea) went virtually unreported.

□ Cultural and national biases continue to play a major role. American and Western lives are assumed to be worth more than others: only when white Europeans were endangered did the 1978 crisis in the Shaba province of Zaire reach the front pages, and only when ABC's Bill Stewart was executed by Anastasio Somoza's National Guard did the gravity of the situation in Nicaragua hit home. The impression is often

conveyed that murder, mayhem, and poverty have no particular meaning or impact in developing, or even just unfamiliar, countries.

□ Most Americans are probably not very interested in foreign news, despite their answers in various opinion polls and readership surveys, and those who are interested are probably not very well informed, because they get much of their information from television. (One flaw in Rosenblum's book, by the way, is that it devotes a scant three pages to radio, which may be becoming more important as a vehicle for conveying news of the world to Americans.)

□ Both the president and Congress often see international developments in ways that have little reality on the scene. This is particularly true when the specter of communist bogeymen—in the form of political parties in Western Europe, of Cuban troops providing security in African countries, or of Soviet troops that have been based in Cuba for years—serves a domestic political purpose.

*continued*

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## BOOKS

The press rarely points up the disjunction between how things look from Washington and from the field.

□ The third world will get unhappier with Western coverage before it gets happier. This is so in part because expectations of the Western press will rise, and partly because the Western press, fed up with attempts by the developing countries to hobble and restrict it, is liable to pay less attention rather than try to win favor. Negotiations, conferences, and better communication may ease the standoff, but a basic, albeit unfair, asymmetry will remain: the West will continue to be presented as being more important in the third world than the third world is presented as being in the West.

On the whole, not a very happy picture. Rosenblum seems confident that the American press—although it does better than it is generally given credit for—can try harder. It does seem unlikely, though, that desk editors will launch a mass movement anytime soon to become more sophisticated about Bangladesh, Chad, or Uruguay. Nor indeed will clichés that are common currency in the American political view of the world (“procommunist,” “anticommunist,” “leftist,” “rightist,” and the like) be easy to banish and replace with sophisticated analysis.

There are other problems. According to one study cited by Rosenblum, the number of correspondents reporting the news from abroad was down to 430 in the mid-1970s from a peak of 2,500 just after World War II. Inflation, shifting priorities, and changing career models may cause that figure to decline still further. In a world where more things seem to be happening (or getting noticed) all the time, this could mean less and thinner coverage. Editors may then have to choose between having a hard and small core of traditional foreign correspondents reporting only coups and earthquakes, or developing a new kind of correspondent who ignores those events altogether and concentrates instead on carefully covering a few signifi-

cant issues a year. Doing the latter may be a lot less fun, to be sure, but it may be the only way to go. The era of what Rosenblum calls the “bionic correspondent”—the superhuman reporter who flourished amidst the bizarre excitements and exquisite chaos of life on foreign dateline—is probably coming to an end.

## Hot air from the Windy City

**Chicago Tribune: the Rise of a Great American Newspaper**  
by Lloyd Wendt. Rand McNally & Co.  
864 pp. \$17.50

by RON DORFMAN

Somewhere in this thick book is a statement about “the city’s solid newspaper of record, providing the vital data required by the community for its existence, regardless of expense to the *Tribune* and, sometimes, even at the cost of boring its readers.” Putting those words on paper should have alerted the author, a former *Tribune* editor, to the need for a fresh supply of blue pencils on his own desk. There are, I would think, very few readers for whom it is a vital datum that the *Chicago Tribune* carried 137 columns of advertisements in its thirty-two-page issue of March 18, 1888, or that the total paid attendance at Tribune Charities sporting events and entertainments between 1928 and 1946 was 3,379,633. Yet Wendt insists on cluttering his narrative with hundreds of such trivial facts while doing little more than mentioning the names of such major characters as George Tagge, the political editor who ran the legislature in the 1950s and 1960s, and Claudia Cassidy, the music and drama critic who wielded life-and-death powers over the city’s post-World War II cultural life.

*continued*

Ron Dorfman, former editor of the *Chicago Journalism Review*, is a Chicago-based freelance writer.

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More than a third of the book's prodigious length, in fact, is taken up by the first thirty years of the *Tribune's* history—the story of Joseph Medill, Abraham Lincoln, the Republican Party, the Civil War, and Reconstruction. By the time Wendt gets to the last thirty momentous years—which include the wrenching reconstruction of the paper after the death in 1955 of Colonel McCormick—he seems content merely to skim the surface.

Wendt is silent, for instance, on the famous nailhead incident. On January 1, 1969, the *Tribune* announced a new management and a new editorial philosophy: henceforth, the paper would be scrupulously fair in the news columns even to those who were being denounced on the editorial page. But, eleven months later, in reporting the official version of the police raid that took the lives of two Black Panther leaders on the West Side, the *Tribune* failed to honor its new commitment. Photographs which were supplied to the paper by the prosecutor, and which purportedly showed bullet holes made by an alleged fusillade fired by the Panthers at the police, were proved, within hours of their appearance in the *Tribune's* exclusive, to be photographs of nailheads. The fraud was exposed by competing newspapers and television news organizations, which had taken the trouble to actually look at the site of the shooting. The *Tribune* and its staff were chagrined—the Black Panther killings were a major running story in Chicago for weeks—and the incident undoubtedly spurred the real reform of the paper that is evident now, ten years after the event.

There is little in this book to suggest why the *Tribune* should have been so passionately despised by so many people for so many years. By the late 1950s, when I came to Chicago, the late Colonel Robert R. McCormick's obsessive anticommunism had turned his once-respected newspaper into a sleazy rag whose viciousness—particularly in its attacks on labor organizers, college

professors, and other dangerous elements—was surpassed only by its inanity. As recently as 1968, some wretch in the newsroom had the job of listening to Clarence Manion's syndicated Sunday-night radio drivel and writing a report on it for each Monday's paper.

Wendt's first 300 pages, on the 1848–1877 period, would have made a fine book. His account of the *Tribune* in the 1920s, heroically battling vice and corruption in Chicago, would have made another. (And did: *Lords of the Levee*, by Wendt and Herman Kogan.) Scattered among the circulation and advertising figures there are some wonderful tales of reportorial derring-do, as well as descriptions of several pioneering techniques developed by the *Tribune's* mechanical and marketing departments. Put together, the result is merely an intimidating, overstuffed tome.

Wendt never decided what the point or purpose of his work was to be. While he is no Swanberg or Halberstam, Wendt is perfectly capable of developing character, and he sometimes does, so that the *Tribune* can be understood in light of the personalities of Medill and, to some extent, McCormick and Joe Patterson. At some moments he seems to delight in the plodding task of the archivist, while at others he takes many turns in the tradition of the Chicago newspaper yarn, of which the best expression is George Murray's *The Madhouse on Madison Street*, an account of Hearst's *Chicago American* in the *Front Page* days.

To switch willy-nilly from one to another of these modes and back again is to compromise history, which should not in the same book be synthetic for one era, anecdotal for another, and antiquarian for a third. How is the reader to make sense of such a jumble? What, the reader is entitled to ask, is the author trying to tell me?

Or, as some city editor once put it, "You've done a lot of work, kid, but what's the lead?" ■



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

**Chapter I**  
**HISTORY OF INSURANCE**  
 Characteristics of Modern Insurance  
 Spreading the Risk  
 Contracts and Insurance

**Chapter II**  
**AUTO INSURANCE**  
 Types of Auto Insurance  
 Tort Auto Insurance Coverages  
 Insurance that Pays for Injuries or Damage that You Cause  
 Insurance that Pays for Your Injuries or the Injuries of Your Passengers  
 Insurance that Repairs Cars  
 No-Fault Auto Insurance  
 The Concept  
 Its Many Varieties  
 A Federal No-Fault Plan?  
 How and When to File a Claim  
 How Much Auto Insurance to Buy  
 How to Save Money on Auto Insurance  
 How to Foil Car Thieves  
 Motor Vehicle Theft  
 State Regulation  
 Financial Responsibility Laws  
 Compulsory Liability Insurance  
 Unsatisfied Judgment Funds  
 Assigned Claims Plans  
 Shared Market Plans  
 Assigned Risk Plans  
 Joint Underwriters Associations  
 Reinsurance Facilities  
 State Fund

**Chapter III**  
**RESIDENTIAL INSURANCE**  
 Homeowners Policy  
 Homeowners Property Coverages  
 Residential Liability Coverages  
 How Much Will Be Paid for Damage to Property?  
 Actual Cash Value  
 Replacement Coverage

Partial Loss  
 Maintaining Adequate Insurance  
 Consumer Price Index—Housing  
 Examples of Real Estate

**Chapter VI**  
**HOW COSTS AFFECT PRICES**

Motor Vehicle Accident Toll  
 Age of Drivers in Accidents  
 Sex of Drivers Involved in Accidents  
 Percentage of Drivers in Each Age Group with Accidents  
 War Vs. Motor Vehicle Deaths

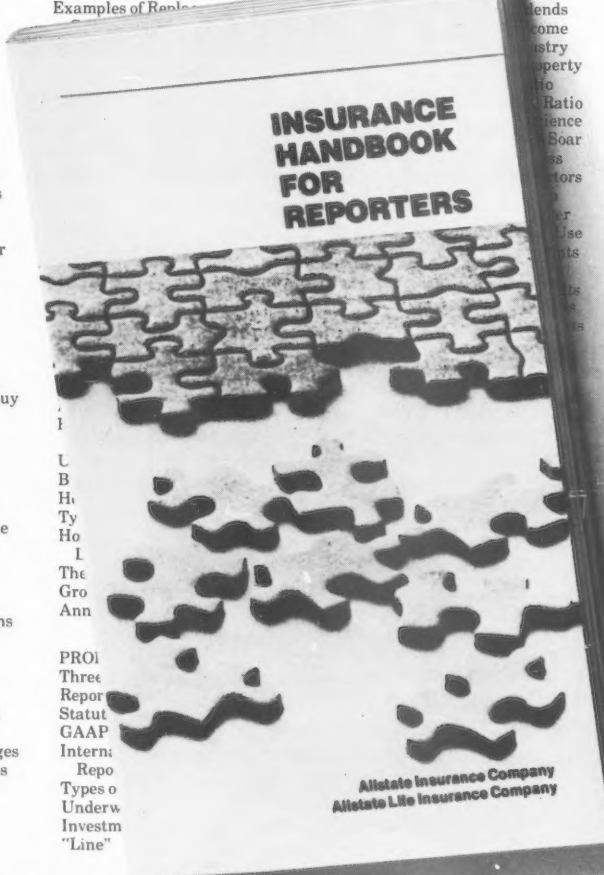
**Chapter VII**  
**KINDS OF INSURANCE FIRMS**  
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 Mutual Insurer  
 Reciprocal Exchange  
 Property/Casualty, Life Insurer  
 Reinsurance  
 Government Insurers  
 Internal Organization of Insurance Firms:  
 Various Departments in Companies

**Chapter VIII**  
**GLOSSARY OF INSURANCE TERMS**

**Chapter IX**  
**INSURANCE ORGANIZATIONS**  
 Information on Leading National Organizations of Insurance Companies, Supported by Insurance Companies, or Related to Insurance

**Chapter X**  
**LEADING COMPANIES**  
 Leading Property/Casualty Companies and Groups  
 Ranked by Premiums  
 Alphabetical, with Addresses, Telephone Numbers  
 Leading U.S. Life Companies  
 Ranked by Insurance in Force  
 Alphabetical, with Addresses, Telephone Numbers

**Chapter XI**  
**REFERENCE GUIDE**  
 Periodicals of Insurance Industry



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# UNFINISHED BUSINESS

## Sherrill's peril

### TO THE REVIEW:

Robert Sherrill's qualifications for reviewing Günter Wallraff's book, *The Undesirable Journalist* (CJR, September/October), are questionable, since he admits in the lead to never having heard of Wallraff. His total ignorance of the man, as well as of the West German press in general, does not daunt Sherrill from forging ahead to criticize a man whose journalism has been an inspiration to European journalists and to thousands of people who have been victimized by *Bild Zeitung* or its counterparts throughout Europe. Once again, Sherrill has proved that we have not yet stopped judging the world by U.S. standards.

MARTHA L. DOGGETT  
Brooklyn, N.Y.

## Court opinion

### TO THE REVIEW:

Bruce Sanford's "No Quarter From This Court" (CJR, September/October) was a perceptive and sensible piece. As a former newsman (UPI) who now teaches mass communications law and represents media clients, I have been distressed for several years over the journalism community's inability to distinguish between decisions that are outrageous and those that are merely inconvenient. Sanford's article succeeds in providing this perspective.

DAVID A. ANDERSON  
Professor of law  
University of Texas  
Austin

## Gas gauge gripe

### TO THE REVIEW:

"Energy: Coping with a Crisis" (CJR, September/October) provided a keen insight into the problems all of us encountered in obtaining reliable data on last summer's gasoline crunch. I was startled, however, by Eileen Shanahan's comment that those of us at the American Automobile Association didn't "know a damn thing."

For sixteen weeks this past spring and summer, AAA produced a weekly Fuel Gauge report, a survey addressing both gasoline price and availability. It was

utilized liberally and regularly by both national and local news media. And at no time, to my knowledge, did anyone question the credibility of the report, let alone suggest that our organization did not "know a damn thing."

JAMES H. DOWNEY  
National public information manager  
American Automobile Association  
Falls Church, Va.

## The extracted dart

### TO THE REVIEW:

Regarding the dart in your September/October issue for the inane line in a July 2 rape story ("the woman was not harmed") which appeared in our newspaper, I cannot, unhappily, explain how it crept past our editors, but I can, happily, report that it was spotted and excised after the bulldog edition.

DICK CADY  
City editor  
*The Indianapolis Star*

## The TMI (missed) point

### TO THE REVIEW:

In "At Three Mile Island" (CJR, July/August), the authors define "the most important story" as having been, "Do the experts know enough to protect us from nuclear catastrophe?"

A question more to the point is, did the experts know enough to prevent the Three Mile accident from happening? This may seem absurd, since the accident did happen, but I submit it is a valid question. Rephrasing it—did the Nuclear Regulatory Commission have foreknowledge about the accident sequence which afflicted the TMI reactor on March 28? Did NRC officials know about incidents involving feedwater transients and stuck-open relief valves at other Babcock and Wilcox plants? NRC regulations require reporting of such events as Licensee Event Reports (LERs), and NRC files record precursors of the TMI accident. Had the NRC been doing its job properly, it should have analyzed LER data on hand and advised the nuclear industry of the potential for trouble in the Babcock and Wilcox system.

Babcock and Wilcox, which knew even more intimately the details of feed-

water and pressure relief valve malfunctions, must share the blame with NRC. Between November 1977 and August 1978, five separate memorandums on such accident sequences were circulated within Babcock and Wilcox, but none reached the outside world. Certainly, none reached reactor sites like Three Mile Island.

Yes, the experts did know enough to prevent Three Mile Island from happening, but too much responsibility had been laid off on the NRC by the utilities—and the NRC, bedeviled by Carter's environmentalist appointees, by harassment from Capitol Hill, and by radiation hysteria, failed to do its job properly.

DR. RALPH E. LAPP  
Energy/nuclear consultant  
Alexandria, Va.

## Copyright query

### TO THE REVIEW:

So Abby Rand, via Ellen S. Freilich ("I Lost My Copyright Through *The New York Times*," CJR, September/October), asserts that *The New York Times* is circumventing what she takes to be "the intent of the copyright act."

Noticeably unanswered in Freilich's article is: what is CJR's copyright policy?

JOHN MURRAY  
School of Journalism  
Michigan State University  
East Lansing

The editors reply: CJR buys one-time publication rights only and requests that authors share one half of any reprint fees with the magazine.

## Dating doomsday

### TO THE REVIEW:

For the historical record, Bob Hotz has not been the "only editor during *Aviation Week's*" twenty-four years," as stated in "The Doomsday Beat" (CJR, May/June). *Aviation Week* was founded in April 1947 as a merger of *Aviation* and *Aviation News*, both McGraw-Hill publications. Its first editor was Robert M. Wood. Hotz succeeded him in 1954, and the name was changed to *Aviation Week and Space Technology* in 1960.

WILLIAM KROGER  
Warrenton, Va.

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F039

## Electric power: What about tomorrow?

# You can't stockpile kilowatts for lean years.

Electric power has to be produced as needed to meet demand. And demand is expected to increase sharply over the next two decades, partly because of population growth, partly because of heavier reliance on electric power to replace gas and oil.

Our nation's present generating capacity is 540,000,000 kilowatts. The most conservative government and industry forecasts show that by 1990 electric utilities must be able to produce 300,000,000 kw more—and by the year 2000, another 200,000,000 on top of that.

Figuring the average plant's capacity at one million kw, that means up to 500 new generating

stations must be built in just 20 short years.

**There's a problem.** A coal-fired plant started this year may take as many as 10 years to complete, a nuclear plant as many as 14. And, half the plants required aren't even under construction yet.

"Can generating plants be built faster?" Yes. *If* some of the red tape is stripped from the licensing and regulatory process.

Right now we're looking at five to seven years just for the paperwork on a million-kw coal-fired station . . . years that cost consumers dearly. Every day's delay in construction, while power plant developers struggle through a jungle of overlapping, unclear, sometimes irrational rules and regulations, adds more than \$300,000 to that coal-fired plant's cost.

Regulators themselves are saying it's come to the point where about 30 percent of the average electric bill goes for regulation.

America can't afford the delays.

Consumers can't afford to pay the bill.

Energy rules and regulations can, and must, be analyzed, consolidated, and eliminated where they serve no real purpose.

A nation as utterly dependent on energy as ours must regulate its utility industries. Reasonable and orderly regulation to facilitate the achievement of objectives for the public good is in the public interest.

Regulation gone berserk is not.

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# REPORTS

"The Television Effect," by David L. Altheide and Robert P. Snow, *The Wilson Quarterly*, Summer 1979

Since Hearst's glory days at the turn of the century, the fortunes of sports and journalism have been inextricably linked: a sports-hungry reading public bought more papers, and the color and drama of the sports pages produced ever more fans. Today, however, the embrace has grown oppressively close, and economics is fast becoming the name of every game. In this concise, forthright essay, part of a package on sports in America, two professors of sociology at Arizona State University document the leading example of the trend—the staggering impact of television network involvement in major sports.

The authors note that sports organizations are building their budgets around media revenues, and that to do so they are bending the rules of their games to meet television's hunger for ever faster and more dramatic action. Baseball, they point out, has developed the designated hitter, a larger strike zone, and a livelier ball; football has promoted the field goal and longer kickoff, and made rules to encourage more passing. Basketball now has the "slam dunk" and the twenty-four-second rule, while both golf and tennis have adopted the sudden-death playoff. Other creative accommodations to television's demands: the manipulation of playing time, longer seasons, and theatrical behavior by athletes.

Will sports ever again be played for fun? Altheide and Snow are dubious. Television and athletics, they remind us, often promote different values, and chances are that the ethos of sports competition will continue to lose ground to that of commerce. Neither fans for whom sports are competitive play nor philosophers for whom they symbolize the human condition will find much to rejoice in here. But there is certainly an advantage in knowing the score.

"Journalism and Social Science: Continuities and Discontinuities," by Gerald Grant, in *On the Making of Americans: Essays in Hon-*

*or of David Riesman*, edited by Herbert J. Gans, Nathan Glazer, Joseph R. Gusfield, and Christopher Jencks, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1979.

Every once in a while someone discovers an analogy between the practice of journalism and some other discipline—an archaeological dig, say, or a psychoanalytic probe. In this latest contribution to this rather specialized genre, Grant, a journalist-turned-social scientist, seeks to establish another convergence. His essay, one in a collection honoring David Riesman, begins as a defense of journalists against the common academic indictment of intellectual lightweightness.

Restricting his argument to daily print journalists, Grant distinguishes between three professional styles. Type I is the classic, or beat, reporter, who is essentially a passive transmitter of information. Type II is the investigative reporter, who initiates stories and develops his own sources but is predictable and largely nonanalytical. Type III is the analytical journalist, who is characterized by both broad and specialized in-depth knowledge and a penchant for penetrating analysis. Attentive to data and theoretically informed, it is this new Type III journalism that most nearly approximates social science. Indeed, Grant suggests, it is to social scientists like Nathan Glazer, Daniel Bell, James Coleman, and David Riesman that such journalists turn for models.

Desirable though this may be, continues Grant, the future development of Type III journalism will not be without its share of tensions. First, the cooperative enterprise required may come into conflict with reporters' competitive individualism; and second, concern may grow among social scientists that these Type III practitioners will exploit their work without giving proper credit. At the same time, Grant predicts, the new journalists will face a choice between models of social criticism and those of objective social science. To encourage the latter, he urges more interaction between the two professions. He also urges his colleagues to curb their habit of re-

ferring to "journalism" in a pejorative sense.

Grant's attempts to harmonize their concerns will no doubt be welcomed by both groups. Some journalists, however, may wish to question his implicit assumption that they represent a lower link in the great chain of informational being.

**Periodicals of Public Interest Organizations**, by the Commission for the Advancement of Public Interest Organizations, June 1979

Increasing in numbers as well as in force, public interest publications now comprise a significant segment of our national journalism. This novel guide to the civic literature should be welcomed by citizens, policymakers, journalists, and librarians—who would do well to acquire some of what they find here for their readers.

Ranging from *The AgBiz Tiller* to the *Worldwatch Papers*, the ninety-odd periodicals represented here address telecommunications and taxes, housing and health, foreign policy and food. Each citation includes the name, address, and phone of the publishing organization; a brief statement of purpose; statistics on size, frequency of publication, cost of subscription; and—a particularly enhancing touch—a photograph of the periodical. The guide is useful for giving straight directions to specific sources; it also offers provocative clues to the public interest agenda.

**1979 Guide to Energy Specialists**, edited by Porter B. Bennett, Center for International Environment Information, 1979

"A gift from heaven," is the way John Chancellor describes this book in his introduction. More precisely, it is the gift of a unique coalition of corporations, foundations, federal commissions, agencies, councils, research laboratories, and environmental groups working together to produce a list of people knowledgeable in particular areas of the energy field. Designed for journalists who are

*continued*

# Collective Bargaining Is No Bargain.

No school again today.

And public sector union officials are trying to deceive the American public once again.

Their latest gimmick is arguing that compulsory collective bargaining for public sector unions—teachers, police, firemen, sanitation workers, etc.—will reduce strikes, calm the cities, produce better wages for public employees and generally improve our city, state and federal governments.

The truth is that compulsory collective bargaining is *no* bargain—except for the union bosses who want to increase their already too great power over all of us.

Take the question of strikes. The first compulsory collective bargaining law was passed in Wisconsin in 1959—20 years ago. There were only 15 strikes against government that year.

In 1975, after 34 states had okayed one form or another of compulsory collective bargaining in the public sector, there were 468 strikes against government.

During the same period, public sector union and association membership increased to nearly 6 million as against a little more than 1 million in 1959. In other words, public sector union membership increased 6 times in 16 years while strike activity increased 31 times.

Or take wages. In states with compulsory collective bargaining laws, teachers' salaries increased 36.6% between 1970 and 1976. Impressive? Not really.

In states where public sector collective bargaining is still not compulsory,



teachers' salaries rose 40.5% during the same six-year period.

As for peace and tranquility in our cities and towns, all but seven states prohibit strikes by public sector unions. But union bosses have misled

union members into striking, against the law, in city after city across our nation.

Remember the police strike in San Francisco? The firemen's strike in Memphis? The garbage and transportation strikes in New York City?

We the public wind up paying for these illegal strikes—twice.

First we pay by being denied essential public services during the strike. And then we pay a second time with our increased taxes for the wage hikes and other benefits demanded to end the illegal strike.

But as powerful as they are, public sector unions *can* be controlled if enough concerned citizens decide to take back control of their government from power-hungry union officials.

The leading national citizens lobby fighting union control of government is the Public Service Research Council, with more than 1 million members across the country. A major PSRC study is "Public Sector Bargaining and Strikes," which documents the connection between compulsory collective bargaining and strikes. (Copies are available on request from our national headquarters.)

Only an aroused and determined American public can reduce the power of ever-expanding public unions. If you'd like to help prevent union control of our government, we'd like to hear from you.

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## REPORTS

familiar with their subject but who need more information—and fast—the 138-page guide is organized around a score of energy-source categories ranging from biological systems to wind power. It will put the journalist in touch with experts on such matters as the economics of coal cleaning or the legal issues involved in ocean thermal-energy conversion, the environmental impact of gas-turbine cycles or the development of solar cells. As its editors emphasize, this first edition is far from complete, but it will unquestionably do a lot for the conservation of journalistic energy, and even more for the quality of professional analysis.

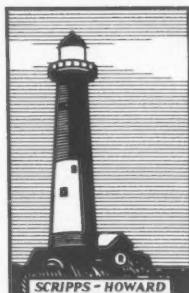
"Statecraft is Soulcraft": The Political Journalism of George F. Will," by Wayne G. Boulton, *The Christian Century*, August 1-8, 1979

The conservative stripe of George Will's political suit is obvious enough, but not every reader may notice its finer weave. Boulton, an associate professor of religion at Hope College in Michigan, distinguishes between the conventional adherence to the principles of conservatism and Will's commitment to the conserving of principle. It is the difference, he explains, between supporting free-enterprise, antistatist, and anticommunist ideologies, on the one hand, and being concerned with the cultivation of individual and national character, on the other.

Thus, while Will is more at home with Republicans than with Democrats, and may find himself congenially positioned with fellow conservatives in endorsing the views of Alexander Solzhenitsyn, criticizing campus radicals, and urging restraint in sexual expression, he can, Boulton notes, be unpredictable on the question of capital punishment and positively heretical on the issue of poverty.

Boulton's discourse ranges over the early philosophy of California's Jerry Brown, with whose public piety Will's ideas are surprisingly compatible, to contemporary Protestant theology, with whose criticism of social religion Will is spiritually allied, and to the writings of Ronald Dworkin, Will's liberal counterpart, with which Boulton takes issue. He dismisses Dworkin's distinction between the liberal view of the purpose of government (to promote justice) and the conservative (to foster virtue). For classical philosophers like Will, he argues, justice and virtue are one and the same.

G.C.



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Named for Edward Willis Scripps, founder of Scripps-Howard Newspapers and United Press, the Scripps First Amendment Award recognizes the newspaper that has performed the most outstanding public service in the cause of press freedom. A bronze plaque will be awarded to the winning paper, and a cash prize totaling \$2,500 to the individual or individuals who contributed most significantly. Deadline: Feb. 1.

### Newspaper Editorial Writing

The Walker Stone Awards, named for the late editor-in-chief of Scripps-Howard Newspapers, are given for outstanding achievement in newspaper editorial writing. First prize is \$1,000 and a plaque. Second prize is \$500. Deadline: Feb. 1.

### Newspaper Conservation Reporting

Prizes totaling \$8,500 will be awarded in the Edward J. Meeman Conservation Awards. The grand prize is \$2,500 and a plaque. The remaining \$6,000 will be divided into two categories: one for reporters on papers with more than 100,000 circulation and the other for those on papers with less than 100,000. Two prizes will be given in each category, one of \$2,000 and another of \$1,000. Deadline: Feb. 15.

### Newspaper, TV, Radio Public Service Reporting

The Roy W. Howard Public Service Awards are given for outstanding public service by newspapers and TV and radio stations. Two bronze plaques and cash grants not to exceed \$2,500 will be awarded, one to a newspaper and one to a TV or radio station. Three runner-up prizes of \$1,000 will be awarded, one to a newspaper, one to a TV station and one to a radio station. Deadline for newspaper entries: March 1. Deadline for broadcast entries: Feb. 1.

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# NATIONAL NEWS COUNCIL REPORT

## Child care in New York vs. investigative journalism

**Issue:** Was an article in *New York* magazine an unfounded attack on voluntary child-care services and the state of foster care?

**Complaint:** Joseph Gavrin, executive director of the New York State Council of Voluntary Child Care Agencies, complained that an investigative article by Nicholas Pileggi in the December 18, 1978, issue of *New York* magazine constituted a "scurrilous attack on the New York . . . voluntary child care agencies."

The article, WHO'LL SAVE THE CHILDREN?, asserted that a "scandal is about to explode" in New York's child-care services because of mismanagement of public funds and a lack of official scrutiny over the government-reimbursement system under which numerous charitable agencies operate.

Mr. Gavrin charged that the article inadequately represented the views of his organization and that it contained eleven unfair or false passages ("accusations"). Mr. Gavrin sent a letter to *New York* challenging portions of the article. This letter appeared in abbreviated form in *New York's* February 12, 1979, issue.

*The reports of the National News Council are prepared by the Council and appear in the Review as pertinent information and as a convenient reference source. Publication, which is made possible by the William and Mary Greve Foundation, does not imply approval or disapproval of the findings by the foundation or by the Review.*

*The nature of complaints and response of news organizations are condensed in this report. The Council's conclusions, reached at its meeting last September 20 and 21 in New York, are presented in full.*

Nicholas Pileggi responded to each of Mr. Gavrin's objections. In most instances, he provided the documentation on which he based his conclusions.

The Council's analysis of many of the major points follows:

□ Mr. Gavrin disputed the article's contention that a "scandal is about to explode" in New York's child-care services.

The Council learned that at least six governmental investigations into fiscal irregularities at charitable child-care agencies have been conducted. All have criticized the current reimbursement system and have urged greater official oversight. New York City Mayor Edward Koch recently appointed a task force to investigate these charges. Mounting public and media criticism of the child-welfare and foster-care system also suggests the likelihood of a scandal occurring in New York State.

□ That one child-care agency, Maimonides Institute, was investigated by the IRS and state auditors for "phony child care costs," was not denied by Mr. Gavrin. But, he said, Maimonides was cleared of any wrongdoing, a fact that should have been mentioned in the article. Mr. Pileggi responded that "The point of the Maimonides story was clearly that government auditing of child care was so weak that even agencies involved in questionable practices . . . were still paid by the city and state."

State Department of Social Services officials denied that Maimonides had been cleared and told Council staff that state and federal investigators were still examining the agency's payroll practices.

□ According to the article, four named foster agencies placed only ten of their 2,000 children after receiving \$6 million from the state and city.

This charge in the article has been judged by the Council to be misleading. Although \$6 million may have been appropriated to the agencies for services including placement of children, it was not, as the article suggested, earmarked specifically for that purpose.

□ The article said that foster families are supposed to receive a \$10,000 "allotment" from agencies for each child in their care, but many families have "be-

gun to complain" that they are provided "about half" this amount. Mr. Pileggi conceded that the \$10,000 figure "mistakenly wended its way into the article," but defended what he felt was the main point of the passage—that foster parents insist they have not received adequate funds.

State financial reports and discussions by Council staff with four foster parents confirmed that these families have routinely received "about half" of what the city and state paid for the foster program in which they have participated. According to state reimbursement records for 1977, the remainder, approximately 60 percent, generally went toward the "administrative costs" of the family-boarding program and for the

**'Mounting criticism  
of the child-welfare system  
suggests  
the likelihood of a scandal'**

children's clothing. The article did overstate the actual "allotment" to which families are entitled, but this numerical error was not found to detract from the central message of the passage.

□ Mr. Gavrin argued that it was theoretically impossible for an agency to accumulate multi-million dollar stock portfolios from child-care operations, as stated in the article.

No one, including several state and city auditors, had adequate information as to whether child-care agencies invested funds out of their operations or had earned interest and dividends strictly from reserves from bequests. State records confirmed that significant investment earnings were reported by several agencies in 1977, but at the time there was no requirement that an agency show the source of these earnings or how they were used. While undeniably an area of legitimate concern, the article's conclusion on agency stock holdings could not be substantiated by the available documentation or from other sources on which Mr. Pileggi said he relied.

□ To support the contention that there have been "meager fiscal controls" over the reimbursement system, the article

# Announcing the 1979 Media Awards for Economic Understanding.

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### **Eligibility:**

Entries must be original works published, broadcast or telecast between January 1, 1979, and December 31, 1979.

### **Administration:**

The Amos Tuck School of Business Administration of Dartmouth College is sole and independent administrator of the program.

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cited the 1977 salary of Sister Cecilia Schneider, a child-care agency executive director who had been paid 50 percent more than the city's allowable reimbursement rate. Mr. Gavrin denied that the city contributed to a salary "beyond the maximum amounts it has set."

The 1977 "Report on Details of Operating Agency Salaries," submitted by Sister Schneider's agency and signed by her, showed her total salary as \$44,592, the figure cited in the article. The article did not state that the city improperly contributed more than the allowable amount and did not dispute the propriety or legality of Sister Schneider's agency contributing to her salary, but criticized a reimbursement system that allowed city funds to add to a total salary far above the city's own ceiling.

**'The article does not constitute a "scurrilous attack" on private child-care agencies'**

□ "Some child-care agencies," the article stated, "have purposely kept youngsters warehoused in foster-care institutions . . . years longer than necessary in order to receive millions in government reimbursements."

One of the main findings in the city council president's May 1979 report on private-sector foster care was that the current reimbursement system "provides no incentive to an agency to reduce expenditures." To the contrary, it stated, "increased expenditures will ultimately lead to higher reimbursement rates." The temporary State Commission on Child Welfare in its 1978 report agreed that "Children stay in foster care too long (the statewide average length-of-stay currently approaches five years), all too often with no indication that meaningful plans are developed to move them toward permanent homes. . . ." In its 1977 audit, the city comptroller's office charged that almost 11,000 New York City foster children had been kept longer than was necessary in foster care (in some instances as much as five and one-half years). Relying on these official findings, it is fair to conclude that "some" agencies have, on occasion, "purposely" kept children institutionalized longer than was necessary. This may not be the result of malice or greed, but clearly has been the result of an inefficient and cumbersome system in

which the child-care agencies have been operating.

Mr. Gavrin's objections to other portions of the article were found to be unsupported or matters of personal interpretation that did not detract from what was said in the article.

**Council action:** Mr. Pileggi's article contains a strong indictment of a government-initiated system, which even Mr. Gavrin's organization would acknowledge rarely operated "in the best interest of" the child. The article does not constitute a "scurrilous attack" on the private child-care agencies, since the bulk of its criticism concerning "meager fiscal controls" and insufficient oversight is directed at government officials, auditors, and administrators. However, a piece of advocacy journalism, such as this one, places a special burden on both reporters and editors to be thorough and accurate. There was a failure to be either thorough enough or accurate enough in some instances. These include the passages about agency stockholdings, the amount of money earmarked for foster-home placement, and the numerical error concerning foster-family allotments. Moreover, some of these inaccuracies were highlighted by the magazine's editors in subheads which appeared throughout the article.

The Council believes, however, that these errors do not undermine the article's essential characterization of abuses in New York's child-care system. With the exceptions noted, the Council finds the complaint unwarranted.

**Concurring:** Cooney, Dilliard, Ghiglione, Isaacs, Pulitzer, and Rusher.

**Dissenting:** Huston.

**Dissenting opinion by Ms. Huston:** Reporters must exercise great care when using figures in a story to make a point. Throughout WHO'LL SAVE THE CHILDREN? unlike figures were compared, thus leading to faulty conclusions—both implied and stated.

Granted, in many cities, child-welfare systems are inadequate. However, irresponsible reporting such as this does not further public understanding, nor does it serve to persuade policymakers to undertake improvements.

Initially, it was the reporter's obligation to use the figures correctly. That failing, it was the editor's job to spot the errors. In this case, both failed—to the detriment of the press and of the children.

## Statement on Jean Seberg case

Only from disclosures by her former husband at the time of her suicide did the American public learn that Jean Seberg was deliberately and outrageously maligned by the FBI in 1970. In order to discredit Ms. Seberg because of her support for the Black Nationalist movement, the FBI concocted statements concerning the paternity of her child, who subsequently died following premature birth. The FBI, in an internal memorandum, said: "It is felt that the possible publication of Seberg's plight could cause her embarrassment and serve to cheapen her image with the general public."

When government agents act to disseminate rumors of this kind, as was done in this case, the entire nation is victimized. And any elements of the press which chose to publish the rumor about Ms. Seberg without verification were guilty of abetting the kind of tactics the FBI employed. The press must maintain the highest standards for checking such information.

The National News Council welcomes the statement of FBI Director William H. Webster that "the days when the FBI used derogatory informa-

**'When government agents act to disseminate such rumors, the entire nation is victimized'**

tion to combat advocates of unpopular causes have passed forever." However, the Council goes on record as deeply regretting the necessity for that statement and condemns the practice in the past that required it.

**Concurring:** Cooney, Dilliard, Ghiglione, Huston, Isaacs, Lawson, Pulitzer, and Salant.

**Dissenting:** Rusher.

**Dissenting opinion by Mr. Rusher:** For the FBI to concoct and float a false story about an individual would, of course, be profoundly reprehensible at any time



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Warren Beatty  
THE NEW REPUBLIC  
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Daniel P. Moynihan  
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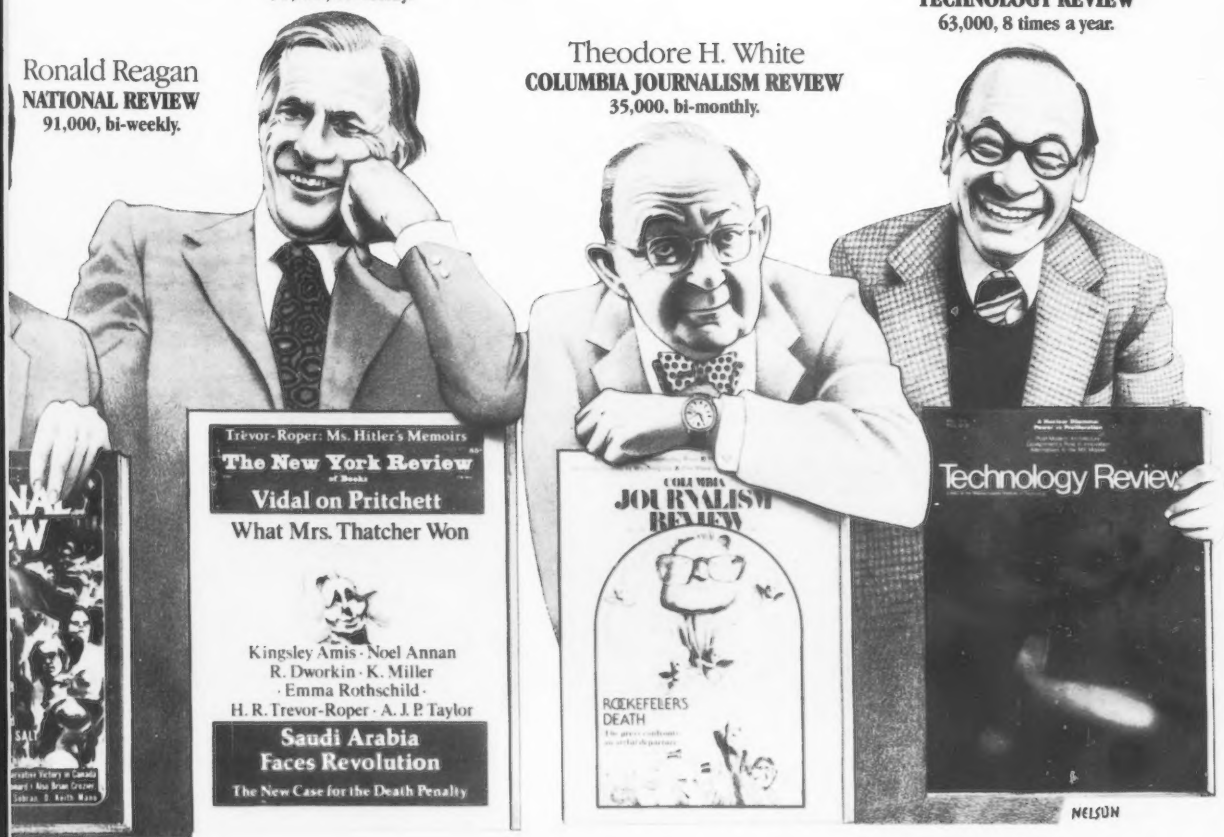


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and if the press through carelessness permitted itself to be used for such a purpose, it would deserve sharp criticism by this Council. If the story was true, however (which I understand is unclear in this instance), the problem presented is surely more complex, even for those who would ultimately reach the same conclusion. Where national security is involved (and opinions will differ as to whether the Black Panther connection made that the case here), that important factor must also be taken into account. I believe that a rational conclusion in this matter requires the evaluation of all of these considerations and ought not to reduce to simply one more sweeping condemnation of J. Edgar Hoover's administration of the FBI.

## Was Boise's 'skeleton' just a ghost?

**Issue:** In 1972, one of the nation's largest wood-products firms had a severe financial setback. Did a United Press International story misleadingly imply that the company was covering up its past?

**Complaint:** Robert B. Hayes, director of corporate communications at the Boise Cascade Corporation, Boise, Idaho, complained that a United Press International story about the company was "grossly distorted, inaccurate and misleading."

Mr. Hayes submitted a copy of the story as it had appeared in the *Dallas Morning News* on April 29, 1979. Headlined **BOISE IGNORES '72 SKELETON**, the story focused on the company's severe financial difficulties in 1972. Boise Cascade, one of the nation's largest wood-products firms, is now prospering. It had near-record earnings in 1978.

Mr. Hayes maintained that the story created the false impression that the company was attempting to "cover up a negative period in its past."

It was "highly misleading," he said, for the story to have stated that Boise Cascade's library "conspicuously lacks" a 1972 annual report since copies of the company's financial statements are used to fill information requests and the supply for 1972 "was only temporarily depleted." Furthermore, he said, a compa-

ny employee provided his personal copy to the UPI reporter.

Mr. Hayes charged that "in an apparent effort to build intrigue" the UPI story described the company's communications department as a "modest office tucked away on Boise Cascade's fifth floor. . . ." In fact, said Mr. Hayes, the department occupies approximately 20 percent of the top floor of a building that covers an entire city block.

In addition, he contended that the story used quotes attributed to unnamed communications employees of the company, which were "erroneous and taken out of context." According to Mr. Hayes, the first statement was made "offhandedly" by an employee who discovered that there were no 1972 reports on file: "I can't believe it. This is the only one in the whole building." And, he said, a second staff member spoke "facetiously" when he commented: "Why do you want to know about 1972? That's a skeleton in our closet that we'd just as soon forget." At the same time, said Mr. Hayes, the man provided the UPI reporter with the materials he required.

H. L. Stevenson, editor-in-chief and vice president of United Press International, wrote:

THE NATIONAL NEWS COUNCIL  
1 Lincoln Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10023

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United Press International stands by its April 25, 1979 story on the Boise Cascade Corporation. . . . We have reviewed the reporting of Steven K. Wagner, the correspondent who did the story, and are satisfied that it is accurate.

Robert B. Hayes, who wrote the letter of complaint, feels the story is grossly distorted,

'The story was sloppily prepared and inadequately edited, exaggerated and misleading'

inaccurate and misleading. . . . I do not agree, especially on the matter of inaccuracy. . . . He is certainly entitled to his own judgment about the general thrust of the story. . . . We feel the story conveys that Boise Cascade, after suffering severe financial losses in the early 1970's, has rebounded and again is in the black.

**Council action:** The UPI story placed heavy emphasis on Boise Cascade's missing 1972 annual report—a year of financial troubles for the company. But although this report was found in short supply, the reporter was readily given a copy during his visit to the company. It was no secret that Boise Cascade had financial difficulties in the early 1970s. It made headlines then and is a matter of well-publicized record.

The complaint is found warranted because the story was sloppily prepared and inadequately edited, exaggerated and misleading.

**Concurring:** Brady, Cooney, Dilliard, Ghiglione, Huston, Isaacs, Lawson, Pulitzer, Roberts, Rusher, Salant, and Scott.

## Paper traces teenager's life of crime before trial

**Issue:** Was a *Quad-City Times* story on a fifteen-year-old murder suspect in the public interest or did it jeopardize the teenager's right to a fair trial? A group of reporters from a competing newspaper raised these questions.

**Complaint:** Fourteen reporters of the *Rock Island* (Illinois) *Argus* joined as a

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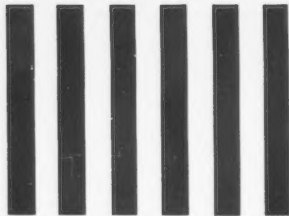
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group to complain that a story in the *Quad-City Times* of Davenport, Iowa, giving the background of a fifteen-year-old boy charged with murder, should not have been published.

Headlined WHO FAILED WITH SCOTT DARNELL?, the story appeared on August 12, 1979. It offered elaborate detail about the home, psychiatric background, and past record of young Darnell prior to his having been arrested

'Such reporting has sometimes led to reform in the patterns of criminal justice and institutional operations'

and charged with the rape and murder of a ten-year-old girl. "Neither treatment nor punishment has had much effect on him," the article said.

The complaint said: "We feel the story was uncalled for at this point—before the case has even begun to go to trial. As working journalists, we believe the *Times*' stories do not serve either the public interest, the rights of the accused or the reputation of our profession." The complaint termed the article an "irresponsible throwback to an earlier and unmissed era in journalism."

Daniel K. Hayes, managing editor of the *Times*, in a letter to the Council, said:

We believe the story speaks for itself. We believe professional newsmen can immediately determine our thinking, our sensitivity and our concern for both individual rights and the public's need to know.

In a phone conversation with Council staff, Forest Kilmer, editor of the *Times*, added this comment:

We saw this story not as a criminal issue, but as a social issue. We were encouraged and assisted at every step of the way in doing the story by prosecutors, court personnel and institutional representatives. We asked ourselves: 'Is the public being better served through the revelations in the story?' We believe that it is. We weighed all of the factors. We believe that if this case ever comes to trial, the court has other recourse to insure a fair trial: change of venue (it happens often around here), jury sequestration, etc.

**Council action:** The type of story which appeared in the *Quad-City Times* about Scott Darnell has long posed a dilemma for the press.

There is the journalistic argument that the public has a right and a need to know about failures in society's institutions which can open the way to violence and crime. In that context, the *Times*

story can be defended by editors as a sound example of enterprise journalism about a major issue. Such reporting, in other instances, has sometimes led to reforms in the patterns of criminal justice and institutional or custodial operations. The detail in the *Times* story confirms the editor's statement that individuals within governmental agencies, including the court system itself, served as sources for much of the paper's information.

Those who protest the publication contend that the story inevitably created obstacles to a fair trial for the fifteen-year-old defendant, who has been charged with murder as an adult. The challenge obviously raises the years-old issue of the seeming conflicts between the guarantees of the First and Sixth Amendments.

## How to complain to The National News Council

The National News Council has two committees — the Grievance Committee, which takes complaints from any individual or organization concerning inaccuracy or unfairness in a news report, and the Freedom of the Press Committee, which takes complaints from news organizations concerning the restriction of access to information of the public interest, the preservation of freedom of communication, and the advancement of accurate and fair reporting.

The procedure to follow in filing a grievance is simple:

Write to the news organization and send a copy of your letter of complaint to the Council.

If you are not sure to whom to address your complaint at a news organization, send it directly to the Council. A copy will be forwarded to the appropriate news executive.

If your complaint concerns a printed news report, include a copy of the report, the name of the publication, and the date.

If your complaint concerns a radio or television news report, include the name of the station, the name of the network, and the date and the time of airing.

Be sure to include as specific information as possible as to why you are complaining.

Complaints to either committee should be addressed to:

The National News Council  
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This case has come before the Council in the form of a grievance involving a specific matter, but it raises basic issues relating to journalism's responsibility concerning pre-trial publicity. Rather than consider the problems in the context of this specific complaint, the Council believes it should examine the whole question of journalism's responsibility concerning pre-trial publicity in a broader context, and the Freedom of the Press Committee is instructed to proceed with such an examination.

**Concurring:** Brady, Cooney, Dilliard, Ghiglione, Huston, Isaacs, Pulitzer, Roberts, and Salant.

**Dissenting:** Lawson.

**Dissenting opinion by Mr. Lawson:** For the following reasons, I do not concur with the majority:

We have a specific grievance which demonstrates the issue of press coverage in a tragic and emotional juvenile-criminal matter. The Council should treat it as a grievance.

The *Times* should be criticized for the timing of the article which creates the possibility that this juvenile, accused of committing a heinous crime, can mount a defense that could enable him to again be a threat to others.

In our grievance process, the Council is too lenient with the press and demands too much from those who take the time and make the effort to file a grievance. We admit the article poses a dilemma and raises questions of pre-trial publicity. The Council in addressing those issues as presented in a very con-

'The Council is too lenient with the press and demands too much from those who file a grievance'

James Lawson in dissent

crete grievance illuminates the discussion far better than in an examination of the whole question.

In these very perplexing times, when we are shocked by outrageous violence and crimes, how does the press so inform the public as to prevent a meaner society, and, at the same time, create a climate for change in our institutions? Such serious social change is the only healthy option for turning-down and turning-off violence and crime.

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## Statement on closing courtrooms

The bond of essentiality that links openness and fairness at every stage of the criminal justice system received clear-cut affirmation from the nation's lawyers and judges last year in the revised canon on fair trial and free press overwhelmingly adopted by the House of Delegates of the American Bar Association.

Relying almost exclusively on Sixth Amendment values, as distinct from those guaranteed by the First Amendment, that canon enjoins bench and bar to maintain maximum openness in all criminal trials and pre-trial proceedings. Under its terms, only such limits on access to courtrooms and records are to be imposed as are demonstrably required to protect the right of accused persons to an unprejudiced trial environment. The canon warns explicitly that public confidence in all criminal justice will be eroded by unduly-restrictive information policies, whether in the form of blacking out any part of the trial or pre-trial procedure, sealing records, or attempting to enforce prior restraint on publication of material in the hands of the media.

Hopes that this formulation of standards by the organized bar would greatly reduce the danger of damaging collisions between the courts and the press in fulfilling their respective responsibilities have, regrettably, been set back by the five-to-four decision of the United States Supreme Court in the case of *Gannett Co., Inc. v. DePasquale*.

The broad authority which that decision seemingly vested in trial judges to exclude press and public from various phases of criminal proceedings has impelled judges in many parts of the country to draw a curtain over crucial phases in the process of determining a defendant's guilt or innocence. Often such denial of public scrutiny has been ordered without notice, hearing, or even the most cursory showing of need.

The speed with which this trend has gathered momentum and the indiscriminate fashion in which the new latitude is being applied make swift corrective action urgent to restore the accent on pub-

lic trials that has historically been the country's most dependable shield against judicial autocracy, corrupt law-enforcement, or undue favoritism in the administration of criminal justice. The prospect for effective action along these lines is enhanced by indications that much of the impetus for closing courtrooms stems from imprecision in the language of the *DePasquale* ruling and that at least five of the Supreme Court justices are in essential accord with both the spirit and letter of the constructive ABA canon.

On that basis, the National News Council applauds the moves under way by the major societies of publishers, broadcasters, editors, and reporters to push for prompt consideration by the Supreme Court of a new case that would give it an opportunity to clarify its views and remove all or most of the current confusion. But the Council recognizes that no redefinition of the high Court's position, however protective of the principles of openness, will in and of itself be sufficient to end clashes between the press and the courts over the media's obligation to fulfill their vital information function while respecting the rights of defendants.

There remains, and will remain, need for a resumption of direct communication among press, bar, and bench on means to implement the precepts of the ABA canon, thus helping to establish a solid underpinning for maintenance of First and Sixth Amendment guarantees and for avoiding conflicts and adversary

'There remains need for a resumption of direct communication among press, bar, and bench'

relationships injurious to both groups in discharging their indispensable duties to the American people. Initial soundings by this Council a year ago indicated considerable receptivity to such efforts at two-way communication on the part of the bar and judiciary.

The press in many states has tended to shy away from such collaborative efforts since the decision of the Nebraska Supreme Court that turned the voluntary fair trial/free press guidelines in that state into legal mandates devoid of any flexibility. The new canon provides an excellent springboard for a renewed attempt at communication involving

bench and bar on one side and the media on the other.

**Concurring:** Cooney, Dilliard, Ghiglione, Huston, Isaacs, Lawson, Pulitzer, Rusher, and Salant.

## Station judges a candidate for the bench

**Issue:** When a former president of the Allegheny County Bar Association in Pennsylvania was proposed as a candidate for a federal judgeship, a Pittsburgh television station broadcast an investigative report about her business associations which questioned her fitness to serve in the post. Was the report fair?

**Complaint:** Roslyn M. Litman, a Pittsburgh attorney who had been proposed as a candidate for a federal judgeship, complained that a critical news report about her on KDKA-TV was "grossly unfair, inaccurate and devoid of journalistic standards." The single report was aired on three separate KDKA newscasts on December 5 and 6, 1978. It examined Mrs. Litman's associations and concluded that some of them raised questions about her fitness to serve on the federal bench.

Mrs. Litman, who was the first woman president of the Allegheny County Bar Association, charged that the broadcast "utilized television's unique visual appeal to implicate and distort by juxtaposing my photograph along with various mug shots of convicted felons, most of whom they [KDKA] are aware are totally unknown to me." Mrs. Litman was referring to a photo montage, which appeared near the end of the report, placing her at the center of a group of people, most of whom had criminal backgrounds.

KDKA-TV granted Mrs. Litman time to reply to the charges. Her unedited twenty-one-minute response, equal in length to the original news report, was broadcast on December 20 and 21, 1978. About this, she said:

In the opinion of some people my rebuttal set the record straight. That may or may not be. I do not believe, frankly, that anybody ever recovers and that there is always a lingering suspicion in the minds of many people.

*continued*



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In the rebuttal, she addressed what she termed specific inaccuracies in the report.

The report had highlighted her connection with Tavern Lending Corporation, a company specializing in loans to people seeking to open bars. Mrs. Litman and her husband, David, with whom she is a law partner, own 30 percent of the company's stock. The report said Tavern Lending had made loans, at one time or another, to persons with criminal backgrounds, that interest and fees on some of the loans could amount to 40 percent, and that, in at least one instance, Tavern Lending had asked for a return of 20 percent in one month.

Mrs. Litman denied that any Tavern Lending borrower had ever repaid a loan at anywhere near the 40-percent figure and that the firm, in fact, charged lower interest rates than the six other Pennsylvania firms specializing in such loans. Council investigation disclosed that there were "add on" fees in connection with some Tavern Lending loans and that persons seeking loans were further directed to the Litman law firm for the handling of formal applications for liquor licenses.

Mrs. Litman denied that she and her husband were major stockholders in

**'The station said it had confidential documents showing Tavern Lending's connection to organized crime'**

Tavern Lending. A check showed that the remaining stock was owned by thirty-six other stockholders.

Mrs. Litman also vigorously denied association with any of a number of underworld figures who were named in the report as either having obtained loans from Tavern Lending or having an interest in bars which received loans from the company.

Examination showed that in some cases persons mentioned in the report had not been charged with criminal wrongdoing until after the loans were made. However, KDKA-TV, in its response to the complaint, said that actual arrest records were not the only test used to determine underworld association. The station said it had obtained in confidence official documents which showed Tavern Lending to be on a list of Pennsylvania businesses with connections to organized crime.

Mrs. Litman also objected to the re-

port's characterization of her business associations with her brother-in-law, Eugene Litman, with whom she owns two Pittsburgh-area properties. The report tied Eugene Litman to a number of underworld figures, most prominently, Tex Gill, who is reputed to be the madam of a prostitution ring. While Tex Gill was a tenant in a property owned jointly by Eugene and Roslyn Litman,

**'It is possible to protect a source and still indicate the kind of authority or agency one is relying on'**

the Council examination could find no solid basis for connecting Mrs. Litman to Gill or any other business associates of her brother-in-law who were mentioned in the broadcast. The report portrayed those persons as being in the "web" of Mrs. Litman's relationships.

**Council action:** A journalistic investigation into the background of a person who is a candidate for a post such as the federal judiciary is entirely in order. In the Council's view, it is the kind of investigation undertaken too infrequently by American news organizations. The Council believes that KDKA-TV's news objectives in studying Roslyn Litman's record were valid and that the news report provided pertinent information.

However, the Council also believes that the news report had shortcomings in two areas. The first occurred in the report's effort to bolster what the station chose to call "the web" of Mrs. Litman's relationships and associations. The Council believes this was the case in the emphasis placed on Mrs. Litman's connections with Eugene Litman and his business associations with persons such as Tex Gill. Eugene Litman is her brother-in-law, with whom she owns two Pittsburgh properties. In this particular respect, the station's account left an impression that Mrs. Litman was in some manner associated with criminal elements who were linked to Eugene Litman-owned properties or businesses. In arranging a photo montage of criminal figures and placing Mrs. Litman's photo in the center, the station was engaging in the technique of guilt-by-association.

The second shortcoming, the Council believes, was in the manner in which some of the confidential material obtained in the report was presented. The Council is pledged to respect the confi-

dentiality of sources but believes, in the present instance, that some better identification than "my investigation has turned up" or "we're told" could have been employed to indicate the type of source. It is possible to protect a source and still indicate the kind of authority or agency one is relying on.

The fact remains that Mrs. Litman is a substantial owner of the Tavern Lending Corporation and a partner in the law firm which regularly has dealings with Tavern Lending. This was clearly set forth in the news report the station aired and was information the public had a right to know about a candidate for the federal judiciary. In the twenty-one minutes the station afforded her for rebuttal, Mrs. Litman left unchallenged many of the original allegations, choosing instead to assert that some areas had not been covered because "KDKA will not permit me any more time." The twenty-one minutes represented as much time as KDKA-TV had taken to broadcast its report about Mrs. Litman.

The Council believes that except in the instances already indicated, which do not vitiate the essential validity of the report, the complaint is found unwarranted.

**Concurring:** Brady, Dilliard, Ghiglione, Huston, Isaacs, McKay, Roberts, Rusher, and Salant.

**Abstaining:** Lawson and Otwell.

**Note:** Council member Scott absented himself from the discussion and vote because he is an executive of the Westinghouse Broadcasting Co., which owns KDKA-TV.

## New members on Council

The Council has elected two new members, Franklin H. Williams, president of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and former ambassador to Ghana, and Ray Miller, who retired recently as vice president for news and public affairs at television station KPRC in Houston, Texas.

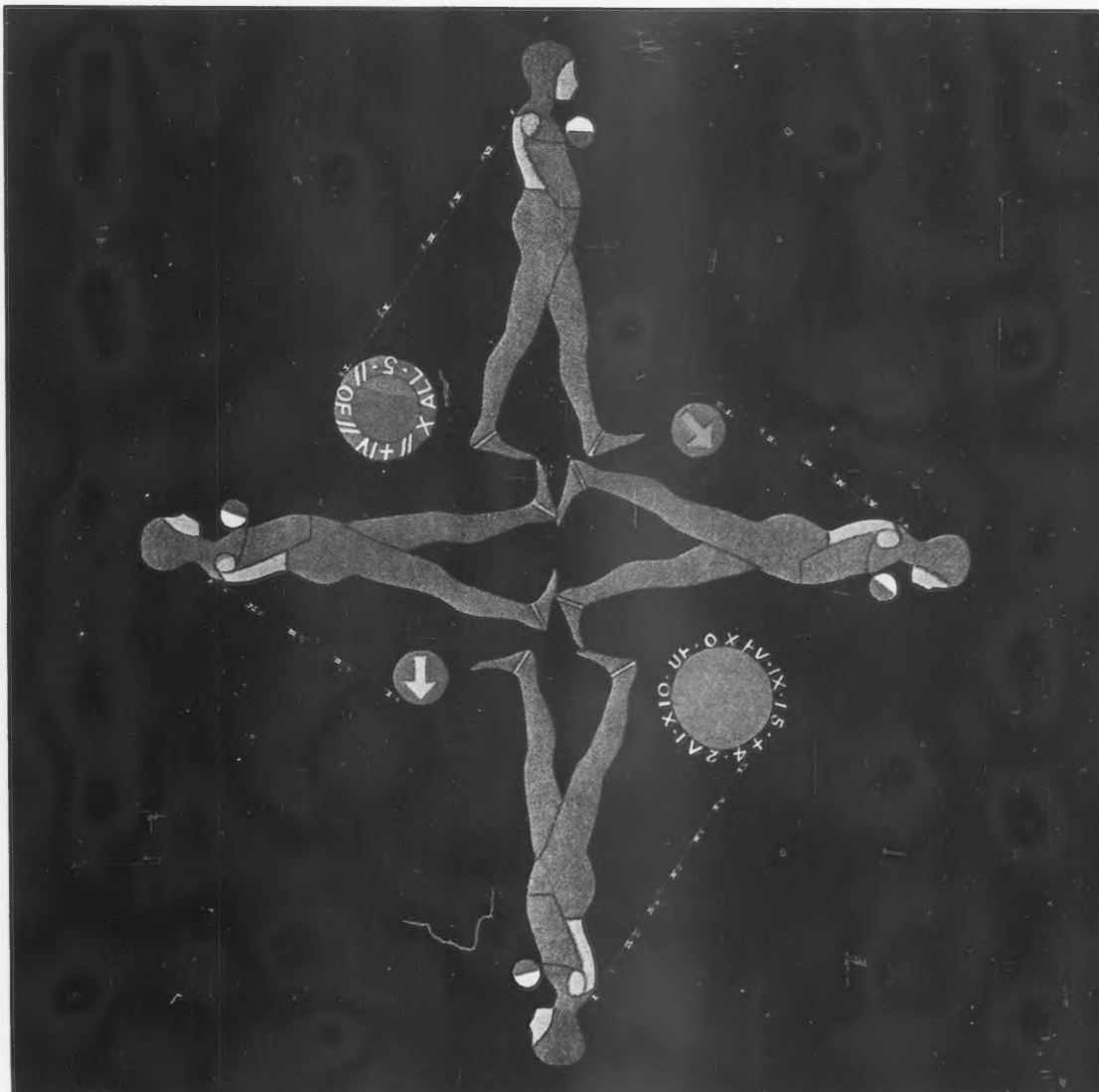
The new members replace Dorothy Height, president of the National Council of Negro Women, who resigned, and Ralph Renick, news director of WTVJ in Miami, whose term expires at the Council's annual meeting in November.

whatever  
liberates  
our spirit

without  
giving us  
self-control

is disastrous

great ideas : one of a series



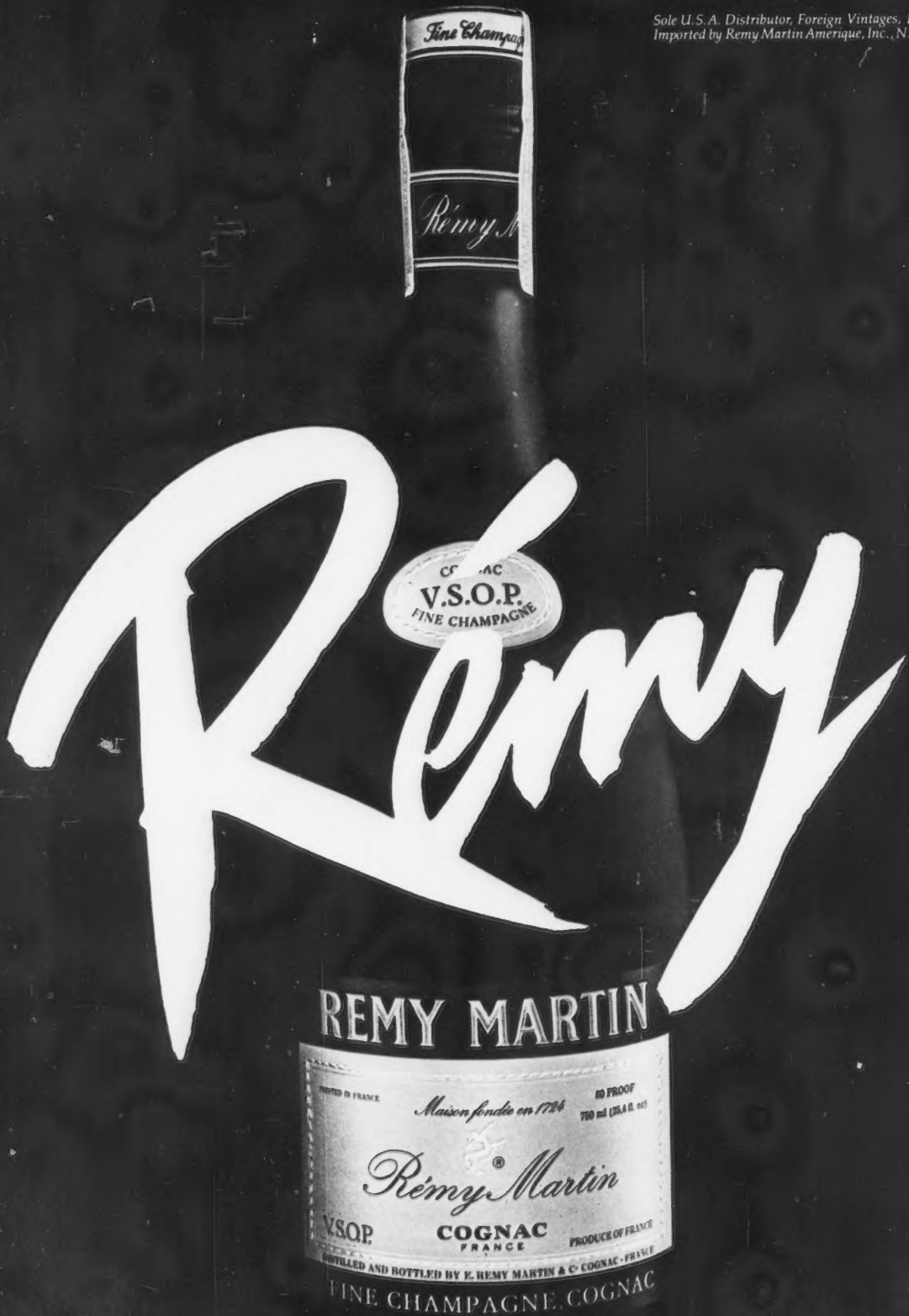
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# The Lower case

## Nofziger to Advise Curb on the Media

SACRAMENTO—Lt. Gov. Mike Curb, whose relations with the press have been at best marginal, plans to hire as a media adviser veteran political consultant Lyn Nofziger, a longtime strategist for Ronald Reagan.

*Los Angeles Times* 9/27/79

## Defective show unofficially starts new TV season

*Toronto Star* 8/24/79

## School homecoming queer a former football player

*The Frederick (Md.) Post* 10/16/79

## Nicaragua sets goal to wipe out literacy

*The Boston Globe* 10/1/79

## BOAT PEOPLE FORCED BACK



*The Daily Breeze*  
(Torrance, Calif.)  
7/30/79

## Democrats in Empire State Building for 1980 Senate Race

*The Washington Post* 8/19/79

In an emotional speech, Mayor Lawrence W. Lorenzen told aldermen that Smaha had received telephone death threats warning him that he and the mayor would be shot if he took the job.

The council then approved the appointment of Smaha, 42, by a 7-6 vote.

*Quad-City Times* 8/14/79

BOSTON, OCT 2, REUTER-- POPE JOHN PAUL II AT THE START OF HIS SEVEN-DAY VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES URGED YOUNG AMERICANS TONIGHT TO SEEK ESCAPE FROM RESPONSIBILITY THROUGH SELFISHNESS, SEX, DRUGS, VIOLENCE OR INDIFFERENCE.

## Middle-Aged Men Get New Fun From Organs

*The Daily Yomiuri* (Tokyo) 8/28/79

## Thanks to God

## New Miss America was crippled

*Democrat and Chronicle* (Rochester, N.Y.) 9/10/79



**Prisoner marries witness**

*The Des Moines Register* 9/15/79

Two innings later, Jefferson was beamed in the back of the head by a line drive off the red-hot bat of Mariner all-star Bruce Bochte. Jefferson was not injured on the play; the baseball, which ricocheted all the way to right field, was taken to hospital for X-rays.

*Toronto Globe and Mail* 8/21/79

## Piqua Man Peddles Self Into Health

*The Columbus Dispatch* 8/17/79

## G.A.O. STUDY ASSERTS THAT OIL COMPANIES WORSENE SHORTAGE

*The New York Times* 9/14/79

## GAO Says Oil Firms Aren't to Be Blamed For Recent Shortage

*The Wall Street Journal* 9/14/79

Even in the Yankee bastion of Hartford, Conn., the National Association for the Advancement of Colorado People, reports a notable increase in Klan activity over the past six months.

*Rocky Mountain News* 8/26/79

## U.S. Government Report:



Box or menthol:

# Ten packs of Carlton have less tar than one pack of...

	Tar mg./cig.	Nicotine mg./cig.
Kent	12	0.9
Kool Milds	14	0.9
Marlboro Lights	12	0.8
Merit	8	0.6
Merit Menthol	8	0.6

	Tar mg./cig.	Nicotine mg./cig.
Parliament Lights	9	0.6
Salem Lights	10	0.8
Vantage	11	0.8
Vantage Menthol	11	0.8
Winston Lights	13	0.9

# Carlton is lowest.

Less than 1 mg. tar,  
0.1 mg. nic.

Of all brands, lowest... Carlton Box: less than 0.5 mg. tar  
and 0.05 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report May '78.

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined  
That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

Box: Less than 0.5 mg. "tar", 0.05 mg. nicotine;  
Soft Pack and Menthol: 1 mg. "tar", 0.1 mg.  
nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report May '78.

